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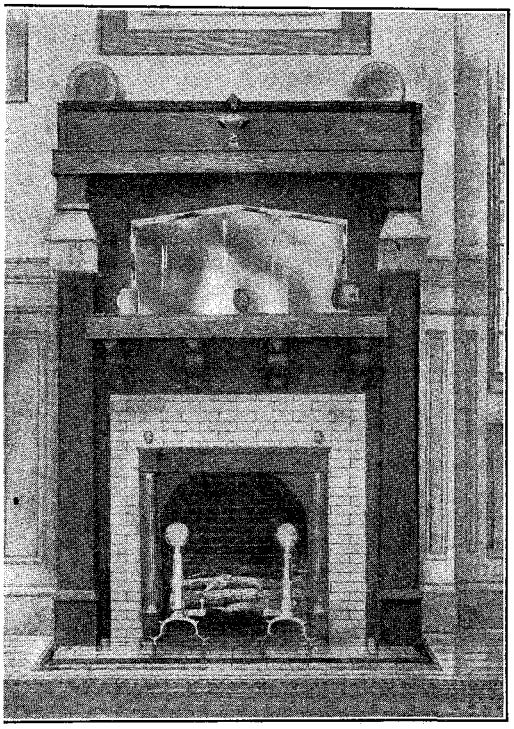

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The Outlook

SEPTEMBER 3, 1910

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MR. ROOSEVELT AND THE PEOPLE

In the first week of Mr. Roosevelt's journey to the West, extending from New York to Cheyenne, he met and addressed many thousands of the American people, who received him with the heartiest personal enthusiasm and who listened attentively and with many marks of approval to his utterances on subjects of National importance, as well as in some cases of peculiar local interest. At Utica, for instance, in prefacing his remarks, before a great gathering of farmers and their families, in relation to rural life—the substance of which to a large extent was included in Mr. Roosevelt's editorial on this topic in The Outlook of last week—he welcomed the presence of State Senator Davenport because, Mr. Roosevelt said, "the only kind of politics I care for is the kind of politics where decency is combined with efficiency, and I hold that the only way by which a politician can efficiently serve his party is by helping that party efficiently serve the people, and because the Senator and those associated with him who have stood for those principles are on the platform." There was no question that the tremendous applause which followed showed that this indorsement of Senator Davenport, who is closely allied with Governor Hughes and is a political opponent of Vice-President Sherman, was recognized as having a significant bearing upon the situation in New York. The strength of the progressive movement in and about Utica, which is the home of Mr. Sherman, was amply demonstrated by the expressed sentiment of this audience. It is increasingly evident that Mr. Roosevelt has become in New York State the center of the political movement heretofore led by Governor Hughes, who is now withdrawn from the field of political activity by his appointment to the United States Supreme Court. At Buffalo two hundred and fifty business and professional men welcomed Mr. Roosevelt at an early breakfast at the Ellicott Club. In the course of his brief response Mr. Roosevelt urged the preservation of the purity of the waters of the Great Lakes, and declared that civilized people should be able to dispose of sewage in a better way than by putting it into drinking water, and that action by both the State and the Nation must be had to put a stop to the pollution of the lakes. Then immediately he applied the lesson to large public questions, saying: "We must keep the water supply unpolluted, and to do that you must see that it is not polluted in the source. In the same way we must keep the standard of public honesty and public decency high, and you cannot do that unless the individual citizen in the first place himself keeps it high." This reference to public honesty as an issue deeper than any party division was evidently applied by Mr. Roosevelt's hearers to immediate conditions in the State.

INCIDENTS AND UTTERANCES

As the trip progressed there was a continual growth of interest. Crowds gathered at every station where the train stopped; often greetings were exchanged with individuals, and Mr. Roosevelt singled out and talked with veterans, children, mothers, and other persons who excited his interest. Brief speeches were made in many places, and these speeches were made to apply to the special circumstances; for instance, at Dunkirk, in New York, a great crowd of men from the locomotive shops heard him

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apply the lessons of character taught by railroading to questions of citizenship; at several Ohio towns he spoke on the live question of mob rule, and although he did not directly mention the violence attending the Columbus strike, his remarks were plainly suggested by it. An immense crowd listened to him at Cleveland and Toledo, and in both places he spoke vigorously of the evils of mob rule. At the latter place, for instance, he said:

There are two things to remember: in the first place, always insist upon absolute honesty; and, in the second place, insist upon obedience to the law. . . . I will not stand for any man if he is wrong, rich or poor. If the rich man strives to use his wealth to destroy others, I will cinch him if I can. If the poor man is crooked or commits violence, I will stand behind the forces of order every time. These are the articles of my creed: A square deal for every man, justice for every man, rich or poor. If there is disorder, all reforms must stop until order is restored. Remember that the public official who does not maintain order and fails to put down the mob is quite as criminal as any corrupt man who conducts a great corporation that becomes corrupt. I stand for decent citizenship. I am against the corporation when it does wrong and I am against the mob when it resorts to violence.

By such speeches as this Mr. Roosevelt is now exercising upon public opinion that influence in behalf of order and honesty which ought to be the purpose of every serious political leader. The staff correspondent of The Outlook who is traveling with Mr. Roosevelt writes that he is impressed with the common American spirit exhibited by the greatly varied audiences; at Utica farmers and their families, at Buffalo prosperous business men, at Cleveland people of all kinds, at Elyria and Elkhart plain average townspeople—all were equally intelligent and receptive American citizens. At some places, he says, the crowd was noisy, at others cheerful, at others inclined to be familiar in greeting, and in still others alternately attentive and enthusiastic, while at Elkhart, our correspondent adds, the people were profoundly serious and almost like a church congregation as they listened to as good a sermon as if in church on the fundamentals of character. The speech at Denison, in Iowa, was particularly significant because of the political conditions in that State. Mr. Roosevelt spoke of Iowa as a typical American State, adding, "I am tempted to say the typical American State." This idea he expanded in these words:

You have farming as your basis and yet you have an industrial and commercial development also. It is a State where I think the people are also fortunately typical of what the average American should be in the fact that they care predominantly for the general interests, not for special interests. That is the great question that we have before us as a people, to subordinate special interests to general interests. Here in Iowa the conditions of your life have been such that I feel the State offers a peculiarly favorable field for work to put the Nation and keep the Nation on the plane on which it must be put and kept if we are to continue to make the great republic of the West what it must be made, the greatest example that the world has ever seen of successful popular government—government by, of, and for the people.

A FOREST TRAGEDY

The distressing reports from the forest regions in Idaho and Montana which have been devastated by fire are as yet too incomplete to make it possible to estimate with any degree of accuracy the loss of life. It is certain, however, that many lives have been lost; one of the latest reports before us places the number of deaths at one hundred and fifty. When to this appalling loss of human life are added the destruction of homes, the suffering of those who have barely escaped with their lives after wandering for days through the burning regions, and the enormous financial loss through the burning of timber—a loss which will probably reach into the millions—it is impossible to overstate the tragic force of these great fires, considered as a demonstration of the prompt need of fuller and better supervision of the forests. Under the development of the Forest Service within the last few years, and largely through the efforts of Mr. Gifford Pinchot, conditions in this respect are vastly better than they have ever been before, but those who are most interested in sane and scientific forestry are anxious that what has been done should hereafter be bettered and extended. A very recent report of the United States Forester, Mr. Graves, states that the National Forests are undermanned, and that in some cases one man has the responsibility of protecting more than a hundred thousand acres.

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It is a positive proof that the work done by the Forest Service has been efficient when we learn that even with the slender force at command the damage by fire has been, as Mr. Graves tells us, kept down to less than two per cent of the forest area. Doubtless the calamity of the past two weeks has considerably increased this percentage. Mr. Graves urges that there should be at least one guard for each twenty or twenty-five thousand acres, and points out that in Prussia, where the forest service is perhaps at its best, there is one guard for each seventeen hundred acres. Co-operation between State and National authorities, as well as separate action by each, seems obviously desirable; as a National problem, and one of the most vitally important in the whole broad subject of Conservation, the saving and improvement of the Nation's two hundred million acres of forest land must not be neglected. The situation in Montana was greatly improved last week by heavy rains, and in Idaho also the heroic efforts of foresters, citizens, and United States soldiers reduced materially the spread of the fires, and in large measure brought them under control. The newspapers have been full of touching and pitiful incidents of suffering and escape, and the wretched means of communication and the great distances between the regions under fire have added terribly to the difficulty of dealing with the situation.

COMMON SENSE IN CIVIL SERVICE TESTS

Civil Service examinations have been a source of amusement for spoils politicians and their followers. It is a somewhat new thing for Civil Service examinations to be a source of amusement for believers in Civil Service Reform. The following quotation from the Kansas City "Times" indicates that the principles of the merit system have become so well established that believers in the merit system can afford to laugh at some of the incidents in the course of its application. The Kansas City "Times" is referring in the following passage to the examination held by a Civil Service Commission in Kansas City for the position of dog enumerator and impounder:

> One horse and two goats were lawfully impounded and were not claimed by the owners. The goats were duly advertised, and sold at $4 each, having been in the pound eight days, and the horse was duly advertised and sold for $15, having been in the pound twelve days. What amount did the impounder pay into the City Treasury if he is allowed $1 for each animal impounded and twenty-five cents a day for feeding each one?
>
> Do you know how much the impounder paid? No. That's wrong. It doesn't depend on whether he had a relative in the City Council, for this is a question of arithmetic. And if you can't get a correct and satisfactory profit for the City Treasury out of the above story of the unfortunate goats and the horse, never again look down on a dog enumerator; for sixty men who wanted to be dog enumerator, at $1,500 a year, had to "get the answer" to it in the Civil Service examination for that position yesterday.

This examination was held by a Commission in Kansas City which has established some new Civil Service precedents. It did not apply the examination first to the lower positions like dog enumerator and impounder; it began its examination with the highest positions in the several unexempted departments. There were two reasons for beginning with the highest position. First, by this means it was expected that men would be thus obtained who would be in sympathy with the merit system. Second, it was thought that there would be more loyalty in employees if they knew that their superior officers had already passed the same test to which they had been subjected. The Commission, moreover, called in the services of experts in the conduct of the examinations. A committee of three such experts was called in for each group of examinations. Thus, for the positions in the City Counselor's office, the examination was conducted by a committee of three eminent lawyers; for the position of Street Cleaning Commissioner the examination was conducted by a committee consisting of a former Mayor of Kansas City, a member of the Charter Commission, and a member of a leading engineering firm; for the position of Superintendent of the Workhouse the examination was conducted by a committee consisting of a successful merchant and student of sociology, the head of the Jewish Educational Institute, and a former President of the City Club. This committee plan has been used in Chicago for choosing a Librarian of the Public Library; but in Kansas City it was adopted for the entire

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service. The Commission, moreover, laid emphasis on examination for personality and experience. It did this by means of oral examinations to an extent not possible under other methods. The results have been highly satisfactory. Good men have been chosen, party lines have been wiped out, and the merit system established in the respect and confidence, not only of the people in general, but also of the office-holding class.

THE NEGRO IN BUSINESS LIFE

Over a thousand negro delegates from all parts of the country attended the eleventh annual meeting of the National Negro Business League, which began its session in New York City on August 17. Among them were bankers, farmers, editors, insurance men, dry goods merchants, doctors, ministers, and representatives of many other professions and industries. The sessions were enlivened by stories and incidents, were dignified by serious presentation of what has already been achieved by the race, and were inspired by hearty hope and purpose for the race's future. Dr. Booker Washington, with real tact and skill, and also with invariable good humor, brought out the best that the delegates had to give, and his own address abounded in stimulating influence. He urged his people not to make the mistake of dwelling overmuch on the things they have not, but rather to glory in the opportunities they possessed, and he declared that in this country "the negro enjoys freedom of opportunity to get education, freedom of religious worship, to a degree not afforded any similar group of our people in the world." Dr. Washington did not, however, neglect to hold up to shame the blot cast upon civilization by the continuance of lynching; he referred to the fact that within the present summer no less than twenty-six colored men have been wantonly murdered by mobs without wrongdoing on their part. He pleaded for equal and exact enforcement of the law, in the interest not alone of the colored race, but of all races. As an evidence of the prosperity of the negro race Dr. Washington stated that the negroes of the country are adding from twelve to fifteen million dollars a year to their holdings of land, and that he believed that they are now worth in the aggregate not far from six hundred million dollars. When, he added, he spoke of this great advance to President Eliot, of Harvard, Dr. Eliot declared, "No race in the world has made such progress in the same time." On the last day of the Convention the delegates received ex-President Roosevelt with immense enthusiasm, and listened to the first general public address he had made since his return from Africa. This address was strong in appreciation of what the negro has done and in practical encouragement and advice. A few sentences may be here quoted to show the trend of Mr. Roosevelt's suggestion of the right line of conduct for the negro in America:

> When your neighbor likes and respects you, you have won your battle. The white man of the North does his worst work in interfering between the two peoples of the South, and his best work when he improves their relations. This League represents general constructive work for the race. It teaches you not to whine and cry about privileges you do not happen to have, but to make the best of opportunities at your doors. . . . No good American can fail to subscribe to the motto, "All men up and not some men down." If in any community the negro quarter is wretched and one of potential criminality, there is as much of menace to the white man in that condition as to the black.
>
> You colored men and women, set your faces like flint against those who would preach to you only the gospel of hate, envy, and bitterness. Realize that the only way to help your race is not by preaching vindictiveness and hatred, but by leading your people up to prosperity through good citizenship. . . . An ounce of performance is worth a ton of complaint.

PENNSYLVANIA AND SMALLPOX

The title of this paragraph is not intended to be taken as the phrase of an alarmist. There is no epidemic of smallpox in Pennsylvania, but there is, we are informed by so high an authority as Dr. Weir Mitchell, of Philadelphia, an epidemic of prejudice against the only preventive which has ever been found effective in restraining the ravages of smallpox, a prejudice which is likely to have pretty serious consequences if it continues. In a letter referring to a recent article by Mr. Roosevelt in The Outlook regarding General Leonard Wood's services to the country, Dr. Weir Mitchell expresses his regret that the article could not have

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contained "a full account of the extraordinary service which he [General Wood] rendered in dealing with disease in Cuba." Dr. Mitchell sends us a pamphlet which is issued by the Department of Health of the State of Pennsylvania that contains some striking statistics brought out by correspondence between General Wood and Dr. Mitchell with regard to smallpox in Cuba. These statistics, as Dr. Mitchell says, supply "a piece of incontestable evidence in favor of the absolute immunity furnished by the harmless process of vaccination." One of the advantages of General Wood's early medical training is that he can speak not only as a military man but as a medical expert, and it is his opinion that the efficacy of vaccination as a protection against smallpox was demonstrated in Cuba. In 1898 American troops were ordered into a part of the province of Santiago, in Cuba, where there was raging one of the most terrific epidemics of smallpox of modern times. The conservative estimate of the military authorities placed the number of cases at four thousand in a district two hundred miles long and about seventy-five miles wide, with the sufferers dying at the rate of thirty a day. The cause of this epidemic was that for thirty years the political unrest and the revolutionary warfare had put a stop to vaccination. The vaccinated troops that were sent into this district not only proved to be practically immune, but succeeded, by sanitary work in connection with vaccination, in arresting and finally suppressing the epidemic. These facts, and many more, make the pamphlet not only of general interest, but of particular interest to those counties of Pennsylvania where the question of vaccination has become a political matter. The attempt of ignorant or prejudiced persons to interfere with vaccination on the part of Government Health Boards is, to use Dr. Mitchell's just language, "an incredible thing; but what is there that does not get mixed up with politics?"

THE CHOLERA IN RUSSIA

Reports received from Russia are to the effect that Asiatic cholera, which has been epidemic in St. Petersburg since the spring of 1908, is rapidly spreading to other parts of the Empire, and is threatening to become a great national calamity. According to the latest official statement, there were 23,944 new cases and 10,725 deaths in the week ended August 13, and 112,985 cases and 50,287 deaths from the beginning of the year. Until the present summer the scourge had been confined, for the most part, to cities and towns, on the main routes of travel; but it is now invading the rural villages, where the ignorant and superstitious population is least able to deal with it intelligently and successfully. In the south of Russia, and particularly in the basin of the river Don, the whole population is panic-stricken, and it has become impossible to get laborers enough to carry on the current business of the season. Exporters of wheat have orders for seven thousand tons a day, but cannot get men to load it into cars, while proprietors of coal mines report to the Minister of Trade and Industry that, if health conditions do not soon improve, the great coal-mining industry of the Don basin will be absolutely ruined. Although the epidemic is worst in the south, where the number of cases is large and the rate of mortality extremely high, it is rapidly extending to all parts of the Empire, and has even appeared as far north as Archangel, on the White Sea. Asiatic cholera in Russia is not a new nor an unfamiliar visitor. It first made its appearance there in 1829, and it has prevailed in epidemic form during thirty-seven of the eighty-one years that have since elapsed. In the course of these thirty-seven years 4,558,000 Russians have been attacked by the disease, and 1,995,000 have died from it. In the year 1848 alone there were 1,740,000 cases and 690,000 deaths, and even as late as 1892, when the cause of the disease and the best methods of dealing with it had been ascertained, there were 340,000 cases, 158,000 of which terminated fatally. These statistics, taken in connection with the recent progressive extension of the epidemic throughout the Empire, are enough to justify the most serious apprehensions. In countries where the population is enlightened and the Government efficient, cholera, in the present state of medical and sanitary science, is not greatly to be feared, because it can be easily controlled and quickly stamped out; but in

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Russia, where an overwhelming majority of the people know no more of the causes of epidemic disease than they do of the ultimate origin of life, and where the Government has never dealt successfully with anything except revolution, cholera is as much to be dreaded as war.

POPULAR IGNORANCE

In this, as in all previous epidemics, the greatest difficulty with which the Russian physicians and sanitarians have to contend is the invincible ignorance and hostility of the common people. Instead of following the instructions of the doctors and cordially co-operating with them, the peasants regard them with suspicion, refuse to admit them to their houses, and frequently attack them as poisoners and spreaders of infection. They even believe that patients who have apparently died under the physicians' treatment revive after burial, and knock persistently on their coffin-lids for rescue. "He keeps knocking," said the peasants of one village to the parish priest; "we must dig him up." In some parts of the Empire the hostility of the people toward the physicians has taken so violent a form that the authorities have had to suppress it with force. Such was the case in several of the southern and southwestern provinces, where the reactionary Jew-baiting organizations known as the "Black Companies" were allowed to assure the peasants that the Jewish doctors and medical students were spreaders of cholera and poisoners of wells. Even in the Duma, the reactionary leader Markoff recently declared, in a debate on the medical academy bill, "The Jews are a hateful criminal caste, and should not be permitted to practice medicine. No one who loves the Russian people would send a criminal to give them medical assistance, and the Jews are all criminals." For most of this ignorance and prejudice the Government is primarily responsible. Since the defeat of the revolution it has systematically crushed every means of popular enlightenment that it could not wholly and exclusively control, and has forcibly closed probably not less than five hundred public libraries, societies for popular culture, teachers' unions, and educational organizations of one sort or another. This policy it continues to pursue even now, when the consequences of popular ignorance are so deplorably manifest, and when a great epidemic of cholera is getting wholly beyond control. Only a month ago a newspaper in the Crimea began a series of popular articles intended to enlighten the peasants with regard to the causes and nature of cholera and the best means of combating it; but after the publication of the first article the editor had to inform his readers that, for reasons beyond his control, the series would be discontinued. Only a few weeks ago the Warsaw "Society of Polish Physicians," which had four hundred members, was suppressed, by order of the Governor-General, merely because it had kept its records in the Polish language instead of in Russian. It had done most valuable hygienic work, and had greatly improved the sanitary condition of the city hospitals; but its officially approved by-laws provided that its records and accounts should be kept in the Polish language, and, moreover, its President, Dr. Heinrich Nussbaum, happened to be a Jew.

GOVERNMENTAL PREJUDICE AND INCAPACITY

The attitude of the Czar's government toward the Jewish physicians, doctors' assistants, and medical students, who have patriotically offered their services in the parts of the Empire where the epidemic is most serious, can only be described as criminal. In all parts of southern Russia there is urgent need of doctors, nurses, and atttendants, and even of fearless men to bury the dead; but Jews are not permitted to help. The Association of Southern Mine-Owners is said to have made a direct appeal to the Council of Ministers for permission to employ the Jewish men nurses and medical students who have volunteered their services, but thus far it has received no reply. Meanwhile General Tolmacheff, the Prefect of Odessa, has made a report to the Minister of the Interior in which he recommends that the Odessa Public Hospital, which has been in existence about fifty years, be closed, because the Jews have acquired control of it, and it may in the near future become politically dangerous. Odessa at the present time is suffering from both cholera and bubonic

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plague; but, in the opinion of General Tolmacheff, either is preferable to a hospital controlled by Jews. On the 30th of July last the Jewish medical students of Odessa asked permission of the Prefect to practice as attendants in the Red Cross hospital. In declining their services General Tolmacheff said: "The idea on which such institutions as Red Cross hospitals are founded makes non-orthodox medical attendants out of place in them." Eighteen years ago, during the Russian cholera epidemic of 1892, the Associated Press agent, then stationed in Berlin, cabled as follows: "The announcements from St. Petersburg concerning the enforcement of sanitary regulations in the cholera-stricken districts do not correspond with the facts as seen by the German physicians. These regulations exist on paper, but are rarely carried out. There are no signs of sanitary precautions in the streets, residences, or lodging-houses; the quarantine regulations are neglected; and healthy travelers are constantly brought into contact with persons thronging from infected places. The German medical men state that they find the hospital arrangements defective, and cite as an instance Yaroslav on the Volga, where the hospital sewage until recently emptied through pipes into the river above the point from which the water supply of the town was drawn. The managers of the same hospitals had failed to burn the beds that had become infected, and had allowed large masses of refuse to accumulate under the windows." Reports from competent observers, recently published in Russian papers, indicate that the Government is as negligent and inefficient now as it was eighteen years ago. The number of cholera cases has already reached one hundred and thirteen thousand, with fifty thousand deaths, and yet no national appropriation of money has been made for sanitary purposes. The activity of the Government thus far seems to be mainly confined to the suppression of Polish medical societies and the closing of hospitals controlled by Jews. Meanwhile cholera has been carried into Italy by a party of Russians from Odessa, who went on a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Nicholas at Bari, in Apulia, and washed their clothing in the same buckets with which they drew water from Italian wells. In this age of quick and easy intercommunication no nation lives wholly by or for itself, and one often suffers for another's ignorance. We have no right, we are sometimes told, to meddle, by collective protest or otherwise, in the domestic affairs of another country; but if King Victor Emanuel of Italy fulfills his promise to "go where his people are dying," and if he happens to perish there himself of cholera brought from Russia, his people will think that they have a right to protest, privately, officially, and in every other way, against a system of bureaucratic administration which keeps a whole people in poverty and ignorance, and makes it a menace to the health and safety of the world.

REVOLUTION VICTORIOUS

The first act of General Estrada, the leader of the revolutionary forces in Nicaragua, after assuming control of the government as provisional President, was to send a despatch to Secretary Knox at Washington assuring the American people of the warm regard entertained for them by the victorious party of the revolution. Estrada's troops entered the capital, Managua, last week, after repeated minor victories over the forces of President Madriz. The defeated President fled from Nicaraguan territory, and no serious resistance was made to the establishment of a provisional government under the control of General Estrada's brother, and later to the assumption of power by Estrada himself. Thus ends a civil war which has thrown the country of Nicaragua into conditions of distress and almost anarchy for many months. One estimate of the loss asserts that no fewer than three thousand men have been killed in battle, and that as many more have died from wounds or have been permanently crippled. Meanwhile business in some parts of the country has been at a standstill, and American interests in particular have suffered for want of labor to run the mines and plantations. President Madriz has been generally regarded as heading the party which supported the notorious Zelaya before his flight, and American sympathy has accordingly been inclined to side with General Estrada and the revolutionary faction which was called into existence by Zelaya's

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tyranny. What will follow the recent reversal of political conditions is uncertain. Despatches from Managua state that President Estrada will within a few weeks call for a general election, which will presumably result in the confirmation of his claims to the Presidency. It is not considered improbable at Managua that the United States may be asked to supervise this election in the interests of fair play. There was an outbreak of rioting when the crisis came, and at one time it seemed likely that the United States would be asked to send to Managua its marines, now at Corinto, in order to restore order. Up to the end of the week, however, this measure had not become necessary. The whole situation is an object-lesson which shows that the United States cannot avoid a certain degree of responsibility for peace and business security in those tumultuous and irresponsible Central American states which are so frequently in the throes of revolution. This country has still to receive proper satisfaction and reparation in the case of American citizens killed under Zelaya's orders, and it must have a reasonably stable government to deal with. Another illustration of the same principle is seen in the reports from Panama that it has been proposed to place in the Presidency, through the action of the National Assembly, the Acting President, Señor Mendoza, to fill out the unexpired term of the late Señor Obaldia. This, it is said, is entirely contrary to the Constitution of the Republic of Panama, and it is reported that our State Department has made representations to this effect, and that it will not countenance an unconstitutional action which would be only too apt to result in turmoil and unsettled conditions. The policy of the United States in such matters is not to stand aside indifferently, but to act with firmness and with full recognition of the fact that the world will in some measure hold the United States to account for what happens in the small neighboring republics.

A CONFERENCE ON RURAL LIFE

Over three hundred men and women gathered for four days, August 9–12, in connection with the Summer School of Agriculture at the Massachusetts Agricultural College, Amherst, Massachusetts. They discussed the problems of rural life from various points of view. The Conference was designed to emphasize certain ideas. In the first place, it emphasized the value of the community spirit, to the end that the various organizations in the country—the church, the grange, the school, etc.—should be more useful to the rural community, and that the leaders of these organizations should think in terms not only of individuals and institutions, but of the community as a whole. In the second place, it emphasized the need of a division of labor, and consequently cooperation, between the various rural institutions. In the third place, it emphasized the need of leaders in the local community coming together to discuss their distinctive problems and methods of cooperation. At the basis of all the problems appeared the agricultural problem; for unless the work of the dwellers in the country is successful economically their life can hardly be attractive or their community enduring. Consequently stress was laid on vocational training, on the educative value of work on "learning by doing." Each class of agencies in rural development was the subject of a "sectional conference." Thus those interested in Village Improvement Societies and playgrounds and the like were engaged in one conference; those interested in rural libraries, in another; teachers of agriculture, in the third; workers in the County Young Men's Christian Associations, in the fourth; in the fifth section, country clergymen; and in the sixth, leaders in the grange. Of course there was a large crossing over between sections. The imaginary lines between religious and secular disappeared. One interesting subject was the Potato Club of Hampshire County, Massachusetts, with a membership in 1909 of nearly a thousand boys and girls. Seed was distributed and premiums were offered. Now the movement has extended to the whole State. Corn is now included, and six or seven thousand boys and girls are enrolled. This is but one instance of many indicating the means by which rural life can be organized. What should the rural school be? It is not now distinctive, as it ought to be. It is based on an urban plan. That ques-

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tion was attacked. Perhaps most important because most fundamental was the discussion regarding the rural church. Finally, the following resolutions were adopted:

1. In common with all churches, the country church should emphasize evangelism, moral reform and mission as vital issues in its policy.
2. The country church should be a sympathetic center for all the legitimate interests of the entire community.
3. The different church organizations of each country community should federate for consolidation somewhere and co-operation everywhere.
4. The country church should make a thorough survey of the community as the basis of its work.
5. The country church should promote or inspire:
   (*a*) The improvement of schools and their consolidation wherever possible.
   (*b*) All movements looking toward better farming.
   (*c*) Public recreation through playgrounds.
   (*d*) Public health and better living conditions.
   (*e*) Co-operation with grange and other community organizations for plans of progress.
   (*f*) An Old Home Week. Promote active connection with old and former members.
6. Within the community the country church should determine its policies by the needs of the marginal man.
7. The pastors of country churches should receive salaries commensurate with the present prevailing economic conditions.

It is certainly true of the Church that if it would preserve its own life it must lose it for the sake of the community. It must forget denominational ambitions; it must resist pressure from "officials higher up;" it must surrender its spirit of aloofness. Great credit should be given to the Massachusetts Agricultural College for arranging this conference. Its President, Dr. Butterfield, expressed the hope that there would soon be established a National Conference on Rural Progress. The problem of rural life is the problem of the soil, the farm, the market, and the family. It is one which calls for the exercise of the highest intelligence; and it has only begun to be studied. We Americans have been so busy struggling with the problems of the city—with the factory, the tenement, the wage-earner, the street, the shop—that we have scarcely given thought to the fact that two-thirds of our people live outside the cities.

A NATIONAL SURVEY OF BIBLE STUDY

A survey of Bible classes for boys and men in the leading churches of thirty-three typical American cities has recently been completed by the International Committee of Young Men's Christian Associations. The survey occupied nearly nineteen months. It involved visiting nearly every geographical section of the country and holding conferences with selected leaders from hundreds of churches of twenty-seven different denominations and numerous Young Men's Christian Associations. Its object was to get at facts with a view to improve conditions and to promote effective co-operation of all the agencies at work in the field of Bible study. Many distressing facts were discussed, but preponderant evidence that "Bible classes which help boys and men to live clean, strong, earnest, useful lives are growing in number and power." Conditions were found to vary more in the geographical sections than in the religious denominations. A more intelligent grasp of the boy problem was found in the North and East than in the South and West. The two most serious problems developed by this survey were (1) that the number of strong, well-trained, and spiritual men in the teaching force is inadequate, and (2) that probably more than ninety per cent of males above twelve years of age are as yet untouched by Bible study, and with present methods are largely inaccessible. To reach these there must be an end of contentment with a single place and time for all Bible classes. The so-called Home Department does not meet the need; the "Extension" Bible class is much more promising. The Young Men's Christian Association extension classes in over fifty sorts of places—*e. g.*, camps, car barns, factories, forts, post-offices, shops, wholesale houses—revealed to the leaders in nearly every one of the conferences held the missing link in elementary religious education for boys and men. Among the lessons of the survey are these: There must be co-operation, federated effort. Recent literature on successful methods must be read. Trained teachers and variously adapted graded courses are indispensable. The Bible class should be a center of varied interest, social, athletic, moral, civic.

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Churches and associations must have a scrap-heap for obsolete methods. The Young Men's Christian Association, which has been at the front of advance movements, furnishes a natural meeting-ground for leaders and a logical clearing-house for federated men's work. On this point, as on others, the conferees were generally agreed. The record of the survey, notwithstanding all the inefficiency and inertia which it exposes, leaves the dominant impression that "a genuine, pervasive, and abiding revival of Bible study by boys and men is not simply coming; it is here." For the promotion of effective Bible study nothing at once more informing and more helpful than this survey has come to our knowledge.

WHY MEN DON'T GO TO CHURCH

So many reasons for the absence of men from church have been advanced from the inner consciousness of various writers that it may be of interest to give a few obtained from the stay-aways themselves. The secretary of a Harvard class recently made preparations for getting out its "Quin-decennial" report. In the first report, published just after graduation, had been a tabulation of the "religious views" of the members. It seemed that a new tabulation of those views as they stand at present might give enlightening comparisons. The question was accordingly asked on the blank for information sent to every man in the class. It was preceded by the promise that no names would be used in tabulating the results, "so that you may be as outspoken as you like." About three hundred and seventy answers were received out of over four hundred men on the active list. Many gave merely their denominational affinities, as was done in the first report. From these it appeared that the Episcopalians, who originally stood second on the list, with seventy-one avowed members, had now moved up to first place with seventy-five. The Unitarians, originally the leaders with seventy-seven, had dropped to fifty-four, the Presbyterians from twenty-four to eleven, the Baptists from twenty-two to eight, while the Congregationalists remained nearly steady, thirty-two or thirty-three in number. *Per contra*, the Roman Catholics, originally five, had doubled to ten, and several representatives each were now found for Christian Science, Ethical Culture, Christians, and other sects not shown at all fifteen years ago. But many of the answers went further than a mere statement of creed. A large number of men stated that they had "no faith," "no religion," "my own religion," or put themselves down as attendants at "no church." And in many instances the reason was given. The more interesting of these are here copied verbatim. They seem to fall into a few logical groups. First may be put those which appear semi-humorous or frankly physical. "Going regularly seems a bit ostentatious." "Have entirely lost the habit." "Tennis does me more good." "Not a victim of an uneasy conscience." "The services are wearisome." "The services are seldom held at convenient hours." Then comes the class that expects amusement even in church-going. "Somehow the Church and its teachings fail to interest me." "Interest less than five years ago." "The doctrine and forms of the Church do not appeal." "So little said or done there that interests me." "Neither dogmas nor preachers interest me." "Inability to be interested in sermons." "Inferiority of pastors." "Have a prejudice against the minister." Last come the reasons that imply reasoning. They are sometimes scornful. "Church-going is not an essential of life." "Feel no interest in a future life or a personal God." "All churches as now conducted are anachronisms." But sometimes they are serious. "When a Sunday service is helpful to the average man, I shall become a regular attendant." "Have far less faith now in the efficiency or worth of the Church." "Sorrow taught me," says an ex-clergyman (of whom there are already a surprising number in the class), that religion was more sustaining than I had preached, and its institutions less valuable than I had imagined. I have never had more faith than I have to-day in the realities of religion, nor less confidence in its institutions." Without discussing what this evidence tends to show, it is worth while to notice the value of the evidence itself. In the first place, there is no local or sectional bias in these replies. They

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come from all over the country, and refer, of course, to every kind of "church." Second, they are entirely voluntary and made in apparently absolutely good faith, under the circumstances outlined above. Third, they are made by educated men in the prime of life, neither young and ignorant nor old and opinionated, but men who have had time to look about them and settle on some life philosophy. A large proportion of them are, of course, married and family men. Fourth, they are, generally speaking, men of substance and standing in their communities, not only voicing in most matters the better opinion of those communities, but doing not a little to form that opinion themselves. This brief report may help ministers and churches to the more profitable exercise of considering how far the fault is in themselves and is curable.

MENDACIOUS JOURNALISM

In the New York "Evening Post" of Friday, August 26, there appeared in an editorial article the following statements:

"I will make the corporations come to time," shouted Roosevelt to the mob. But did he not really mean that he would make them come down with the cash to elect him, as he did before? For a man with Mr. Roosevelt's proved record it is simply disgusting humbug for him to rant about the corporations upon whose treasurers he fawned when he was President and wanted their money for his campaign. Does he think that nobody has a memory which goes back to the life insurance investigations, and that everybody has forgotten the $50,000 taken from widows and orphans and added to Theodore Roosevelt's political corruption fund? Did he not take a big check from the Beef Trust, and glad to get it? And now he is going to make the corporations come to time! One can have respect for a sincere radical, for an honest fanatic, for an agitator or leveler who believes that he is doing God's will; but it is hard to be patient with a man who talks big but acts mean, whose eye is always to the main chance politically, and who lets no friendship, no generosity, no principle, no moral scruple stand for a moment between himself and the goal upon which he has set his overmastering ambition.

. . . . . .

This champion of purity, this roarer for political virtue, is the man who was for years, when in public life, hand in glove with the worst political corruptionists of his day; who toadied to Platt, who praised Quay, who paid court to Hanna; under him as President, Aldrich rose to the height of his power, always on good terms with Roosevelt; it was Roosevelt who, in 1906, wrote an open letter urging the re-election of Speaker Cannon, against whom mutterings had then begun to rise; it was Roosevelt who asked Harriman to come to the White House secretly, who took his money to buy votes in New York, and who afterwards wrote to "My Dear Sherman"—yes, the same Sherman—reviling the capitalist to whom he had previously written saying: "You and I are practical men."

The "Evening Post" is not in itself sufficiently important to warrant an answer, but as representing a class with whose hostility it is necessary to reckon in any genuine movement for decent government, it is worth while to speak of it. There are plenty of wealthy people in this country, and of intellectual hangers-on of wealthy people, who are delighted to engage in any movement for reform which does not touch the wickedness of certain great corporations and of certain men of great wealth. People of this class will be in favor of any æsthetic movement; they will favor any movement against the small grafting politician, against the grafting labor leader, or any man of that stamp; but they cannot be trusted the minute that the reform assumes sufficient dimensions to jeopardize so much of the established order of things as gives an unfair and improper advantage to the great corporation, and to those directly and indirectly responsive to its wishes and dependent upon it. The "Evening Post" and papers of the same kind, and the people whose views they represent, would favor attacking a gang of small bosses who wish to control the Republican party; but they would, as the "Evening Post" has shown, far rather see these small bosses win than see a movement triumph which aims not merely at the overthrow of the small political boss, but at depriving the corporation of its improper influence over politics, depriving the man of wealth of any advantage beyond what belongs to him as a simple American citizen. They would be against corporations only after such corporations had been caught in the crudest kind of criminality.

I have never for one moment counted upon the support of the "Evening Post" or of those whom it represents in the effort for cleanliness and decency within the

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Republican party, because the "Evening Post" would support such a movement only on condition that it was not part of a larger movement for the betterment of social conditions. But this is not all. In the struggle for honest politics there is no more a place for the liar than there is for the thief, and in a movement designed to put an end to the dominion of the thief but little good can be derived from the assistance of the liar. Of course objection will be made to my use of this language. My answer is that I am using it merely scientifically and descriptively, and because no other terms express the facts with the necessary precision. In the article in which the "Evening Post" comes to the defense of those in present control of the Republican party in New York State, whom it has affected to oppose in the past, the "Evening Post," through whatever editor personally wrote the article, practiced every known form of mendacity.

Probably the "Evening Post" regards the decalogue as outworn; but if it will turn to it and will read the eighth and ninth commandments, it will see that bearing false witness is condemned as strongly as theft itself. To take but one instance out of the many in this article, the "Evening Post" says: "It was Roosevelt who asked Harriman to come to the White House secretly, who took his money to buy votes in New York, and who afterwards wrote to 'My Dear Sherman'—yes, the same Sherman—reviling the capitalist to whom he had previously written, saying: 'You and I are practical men.'" Not only is every important statement in this sentence false, but the writer who wrote it knew it was false. As far as I was concerned, every man visited the White House openly, and Mr. Harriman among the others. I took no money from Mr. Harriman secretly or openly to buy votes or for any other purpose. Whoever wrote the article in the "Evening Post" in question knew that this was the foulest and basest lie when he wrote the sentence, for he quotes the same letter in which I had written to Mr. Harriman as follows: "What I have to say to you can be said to you as well after election as before, but I would like to see you some time before I write my message." I am quoting without the letter before me, but the quotation is substantially, if not verbally, accurate. That statement in this letter to Harriman is of course on its face absolutely incompatible with any thought that I was asking him for campaign funds, for it is of course out of the question that I could tell him equally well what I had to say after election if it referred in any possible way to getting money before election. This is so clear that any pretense of misunderstanding is proof positive of the basest dishonesty in whoever wrote the article in question. As a matter of fact, when Mr. Harriman called it was to complain that the National Committee would not turn over for the use of the State campaign in which he was interested funds to run that campaign, and to ask me to tell Cortelyou to give him aid for the State campaign. Mr. Cortelyou is familiar with the facts. In other words, the statement of the "Evening Post" is not only false and malicious, is not only in direct contradiction of the facts, but is such that it could only have been made by a man who, knowing the facts, deliberately intended to pervert them. Such an act stands on a level of infamy with the worst act ever performed by a corrupt member of a legislature or city official, and stamps the writer with the same moral brand that stamps the bribetaker.

I have seen only a telegraphic abstract of the article, apparently containing quotations from it. Practically every statement made in these quotations is a falsehood.

To but one more shall I allude. The article speaks of my having attacked corporations, and, referring directly to my Ohio speeches, of my having "sought to inflame the mob and make mischief." In those speeches the prime stand I took was against mob violence as shown by the labor people who are engaged in controversy with a corporation. My statement was in effect that the first duty of the State and the first duty of the officials was to put down disorder and to put down mob violence, and that after such action had been taken, then it was the duty of the officials to investigate the corporation, and if it had done wrong to make it pay the penalty of its wrongs and to provide against the wrongdoing in the future. It is but another instance of the peculiar baseness, the peculiar moral

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obliquity, of the "Evening Post" that it should pervert the truth in so shameless a fashion. THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Cheyenne, Wyoming, August 27, 1910.

[Such an article as that to which Mr. Roosevelt refers is not primarily the concern of the man assailed; it is primarily the concern of decent citizens all over the country; its harm to the individual in this case can be disregarded; but its harm to good government is just as real and, so far as it extends, just as deep as the worst act of the corruptionist.—THE EDITORS.]

THE CRISIS IN THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

The acute controversies in the Republican party which have made the political affairs of States like Ohio, California, Kansas, and Iowa of National as well as of local interest, have now brought the State of New York into a similar prominent position in public interest. A deep-seated antagonism between two groups of the Republican organization in New York State has developed into an open fight, which is bound either to reform or to disrupt the party. On August 19 the State Committee held a meeting at which there was chosen a Temporary Chairman for the Republican State Convention to be held in September. The Temporary Chairman is an officer of importance. He generally has large influence in shaping the platform, and is supposed to make a speech which sounds the "keynote" of the campaign. The New York State Committee is divided between a group of men who are known as the "Old Guard" and another group who have supported the progressive legislation of Governor Hughes. The "Old Guard" is made up of men actively engaged in machine politics of the old type, and is dominated by Mr. William Barnes, Jr., of Albany, a "boss" of the school of the late Senator Platt. Mr. Lloyd Griscom, Chairman of the New York County Committee, came to Mr. Roosevelt before the State Committee meeting, and, on behalf of the progressive wing of the party, asked him to permit his name to be presented as a nominee for Temporary Chairman. The conditions upon which Mr. Roosevelt assented have already been stated in the daily press, as well as in these columns. He said to the progressive leaders that if they really wished him to act as Temporary Chairman he would do so, but that he had some strong convictions as to what should be done, and that, while it was possible that his speech would help if the party nominated the right kind of man on the right kind of platform, he would be useless as a Chairman if the platform and the candidate did not correspond with his speech, which would urge the principles for which he is known to stand—principles which are clearly set forth by Mr. Roosevelt on another page in an article entitled "The Progressives, Past and Present."

Messrs. Sherman, Aldridge, Barnes, and Woodruff, and those who sympathize with them, decided that they did not want Mr. Roosevelt in the position of Temporary Chairman on such conditions. They accordingly chose Vice-President Sherman, and the "boss" element in the party joyously treated Mr. Roosevelt's failure of election as a blow, not only to him, but to Governor Hughes and the political reforms for which Governor Hughes has stood.

Of course they had a perfect right to exercise the honest power of the majority and elect the candidate of the majority. What they did not have a right to do was to obtain their majority by trickery and deception. It soon began to be rumored that in bringing about the election of Vice-President Sherman and the defeat of Mr. Roosevelt the cheapest tricks of machine politics had been employed. At first the public was unwilling to credit these rumors. It was alleged that Mr. Sherman had himself suppressed an important telegram from President Taft, and had given some of the members of the Committee the impression that Mr. Roosevelt's defeat was desired by President Taft and his Administration. The public at first could hardly credit reports of such political chicanery on the part of a man holding one of the most distinguished positions in American political life. The "Old Guard" so persistently circulated the idea that Mr. Taft and his Administration were behind them and opposed to Mr. Roosevelt that Mr. Taft made public a letter to Mr. Griscom, in which he not only disavowed any support of the "Old

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Guard," but stated that a telegram had been sent to Mr. Sherman advising him to consult with Mr. Roosevelt, and that he himself had no knowledge of Mr. Sherman's candidacy until the fact of his selection had been published in the newspapers. What the political future of Mr. Sherman can possibly be, in view of Mr. Taft's very calm but very strong repudiation of him and his works in this matter, it is hard to conjecture. At this writing it is not known whether Mr. Sherman will insist on assuming the temporary chairmanship of the Convention; but Mr. Roosevelt has announced that if he goes as a delegate to the floor of the Convention, he will there make a speech vigorously opposing the principles and methods which are followed in Republican politics by "old guards," not only in New York, but in all parts of the country. Mr. Barnes has made a statement, drawn out by the letter of President Taft, but no adequate reply to it. He asserts that his position is one of defense of capital and industry from the attacks of Populistic theorists; the inference being that the real enemies both of their party and of the country are those who favor direct nominations and freedom of the party from the oligarchic rule of a few strong but self-constituted bosses. It appears to be the general opinion throughout the State that this episode has very much weakened, if it has not destroyed, the political influence of Messrs. Barnes, Aldridge, Woodruff, and Vice-President Sherman, and very much strengthened the position of Mr. Roosevelt as a leader of the political thought and action of the State. The action of Mr. Barnes and his associates in this matter, which, as they made it only too evident, they regarded as a shrewd political move that would give them control of the party in the State and eliminate Mr. Roosevelt and Governor Hughes as party leaders, turns out to have been a piece not only of bad morals but of laughably feeble "politics." The whole country will regret exceedingly that the Vice-President of the United States should be involved in so shabby a transaction.

This contest in New York State between Mr. Sherman, Mr. Barnes, Mr. Aldridge, and Mr. Woodruff on the one hand, and Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Griscom, and Governor Hughes on the other, is not a local or factional fight. It is part of a contest which has now assumed National proportions. It had its beginning in an attack in the House of Representatives upon Speaker Cannon and what is now known as "Cannonism," but it is now a part of a general revolution which has for its purpose the overthrow of those men who wish, by means of a closely bound organization, to manipulate party machinery for their own political or financial profit. The term Progressive was first applied to those Representatives or Senators who were arrayed against the principle of oligarchic autocracy in National legislation; the movement has now grown until the title of Progressive may fairly be used to designate any man who is determined to see that we have in this country a Government which is really representative of a genuine democracy; who is, to use Mr. Roosevelt's words, "against the domination of the party and the public by special interests, whether these special interests are political, business, or a compound of the two."

NATIONAL CONSERVATION

The second National Conservation Congress will be held in St. Paul, Minnesota, September 5–9. It will be one of the most interesting gatherings of the season, not only because both the President and the ex-President will be guests of honor, but also because it will probably exhibit wide divergencies in opinion and perhaps be the occasion of warm debates.

The Outlook agrees with Mr. Roosevelt in his statement, made before the National Editorial Association at Jamestown, Virginia, three years ago, that "the conservation of our natural resources and their proper use constitute the fundamental problem which underlies almost every other problem of our National life." It also agrees with his definition of Conservation as "utilizing the natural resources of the Nation in a way that will be of most benefit to the Nation as a whole."

Conservation is of the greatest importance to the country, because "unless we maintain an adequate material basis for our civilization, we cannot maintain the institutions in which we take so great and

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so just a pride." It is also of the most immediate importance because, if the Nation allows these resources to pass out of its control into private hands, it cannot recover possession without a revolution. Other blunders can be peacefully rectified. It is difficult to see how this blunder, if committed, can be rectified by any peaceful process. The gentlemen who are to meet at St. Paul, Minnesota, next week, will be engaged, therefore, in dealing with a National problem which is both of the greatest and of the most immediate importance. We venture here simply to define the problem. In so doing, it is advantageous to consider the four subject matters of Conservation and the two objects or ends of Conservation.

The Nation's wealth which is to be conserved consists of four different elements requiring different treatment:

Mineral constituents of the soil.

Water power sites.

Forests.

Arid and swamp lands.

Mineral constituents of the soil are taken out from the land, carried away and used. Nature will not replace them. Once gone, they are gone forever. This is true alike of coal, copper, lead, phosphates, gold, silver, and probably of oil, though we believe there are some authorities who hold that oil is even now in process of development or creation by subterranean forces. Conservation of these mineral constituents means care not to waste them in the process of mining, and care not to extract and use them any more rapidly than is required by the needs of the present generation. The Nation has no more right to waste the inheritance of its children than has an individual parent.

The water power sites constitute a force of nature to be utilized in National industries, probably much more efficiently in the future than in the past, for water power economically generates electricity, and electricity can be economically transmitted many miles from the location where it is generated to the location where it can advantageously be used. Water power is not destroyed by use and cannot be wasted by use, as coal can, but neither can it be conserved by simply guarding the water power. The value of the water power depends upon the way in which the mountain heights which furnish the springs that feed the river are treated. Conservation of water power sites means scientific treatment of the great natural reservoirs on which the water power depends for its existence.

Forests are a product of the soil as much as wheat or corn. Unlike water, forests can be destroyed; unlike minerals, the trees of the forest can be replaced. We can cut the forests off, carry away the lumber, and burn up the litter or leave it to rot upon the soil, and then move our sawmills to another forest and repeat the process of devastation. This is what lumbering has done in the past. Or we can treat the forests as a crop, and can cultivate the trees while we are cutting down the trees. We can do this either by scientific cutting or by scientific planting, or by a combination of the two. It is really astonishing that a Nation which prides itself upon its practical common sense has only just begun to learn the folly of forest demolition and the value of forest cultivation. Conservation of the forests means scientific forestry.

The arid and swamp lands are valueless in their present condition. To make them valuable, the one requires irrigation, the other drainage. Conservation of these lands means not merely preserving a value which already exists, but creating a value which does not exist.

Thus Conservation has four distinct meanings, according to the wealth to be conserved.

Conservation of mines means prohibition of wastefulness in mining.

Conservation of water power means preservation of the natural reservoirs.

Conservation of the forests means tree culture.

Conservation of arid and swamp lands means irrigation and drainage.

But Conservation means not only utilizing the natural resources of the Nation, but also utilizing them "in the way that will be of most benefit to the Nation as a whole." Conservation, therefore, measured by the objects or ends to be pursued, includes two distinct elements.

It means the application of scientific methods (that is, of common sense) to the treatment of our mines, our water powers, our forests, and our unproductive lands,

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and so putting an end to the extravagant wastefulness which has characterized the American people in its treatment of its natural resources in the past. "Hitherto, as a Nation," to quote again from Mr. Roosevelt, "we have been contented to live with an eye single to the present, and have permitted the reckless waste and destruction of much of our natural wealth." Conservation means forecasting the future and putting an end to this reckless waste and needless destruction.

But it also means securing the benefit of these National resources *for the Nation*. It means keeping them under National control, and dividing the profit fairly and equitably between the owner (that is, the Nation) and the operator, be he private person or public agent, who makes them available. The National Conservation Congress has no more important question to discuss, in our judgment, than the question whether these elements of National wealth shall be turned over to private enterprise, subject to some royalty to be paid to the Nation, or shall be given over to the separate States to be used as each State thinks best for the benefit of the people within whose territory the resources exist, or shall be kept under the control of the Federal Government and subject to its supervisory regulation. This is a fair question, upon which wise and patriotic men may differ. We think we understand the view of those who hold that the marvelous progress and prosperity of the Nation in the past has been due to private enterprise, and that we had better continue to depend upon private enterprise for the development of our National resources in the future. We can understand the view of those who hold that in times past the natural resources in every State have been left to the control of the State, and that this course, which has been pursued in the fully populated States in the East, should now, in justice, be pursued in the sparsely settled and yet to be developed States of the Far West. We understand these views.

But we do not agree with them.

In our judgment, the Nation should keep control of all lands now belonging to the Nation, except those which are purely and simply agricultural. It should do this:

Because the lands belong to the Nation, and there is no good reason why it should give its wealth away.

Because private enterprise has shown itself extraordinarily wasteful of natural resources in its haste to get rich.

Because the States have shown themselves not strong enough to furnish the kind of control which is necessary for the protection of popular rights against monopoly.

Because, in the nature of the case, neither the unproductive lands nor the water powers can be protected except by a power which can operate beyond State lines, in the one case to irrigate and drain, in the other case to preserve the reservoirs on which the water power depends.

Because, if the forests are left subject only to State control, that control, if negligently exercised, may be destructive of the water powers in another State; and if the mines are left to State control, the experience of the past shows that conflicting mining laws of contiguous States lead to endless litigation.

For these reasons The Outlook hopes that the second National Conservation Congress will see its way clear to declare emphatically for Federal ownership of our National resources and for the operation of those resources subject to Federal supervision and control.

THE USE AND ABUSE OF INJUNCTIONS

We shall assume in this article that Congress has, under the Constitution, authority to define, direct, and limit the exercise of both executive and judicial functions, provided it does not, under the guise of defining and directing, paralyze, and, under the guise of limiting, destroy those functions.[1] We shall assume that the Congress which has created the Federal courts, except the Supreme Court, can reconstruct them or abolish them and substitute other courts in their place, and that this power to create, abolish, and reconstruct carries with it power to define and direct the exercise of the functions of such courts. The one exception is, as we have said, the Supreme Court of

[1] See the editorial in last week's Outlook entitled "The Power of the Courts."

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the United States. That Court Congress did not create and cannot destroy, nor can it take from that Court its power to interpret the Constitution and so to define the powers of the Congress itself. Since the Constitution explicitly provides that "the judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States," etc., and since the power of granting injunctions has always been a recognized power in equity, it may well be contended that the Congress has no authority to deprive the courts of their power to issue injunctions; but it does not follow that the Congress has no authority to determine in what cases and under what conditions injunctions may be issued. We believe it has authority to define the uses of injunctions, to extend their use on the one hand, or limit their use on the other, and corresponding power to prevent the abuse of injunctions, by such legislation as in its judgment may be necessary for that purpose. Assuming this to be true, what legislation is necessary for that purpose?

In the interesting discussion concerning the use and abuse of injunctions reported in the "Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science" for July, 1910, to which we referred last week, there are two curious positions taken by opposing advocates. Mr. Ralston contends that "the jurisdiction of equity in injunction extends only to the protection of property, the improvement or destruction of which could not adequately [meaning exactly or not at all] be compensated for in damages." He denies that courts of equity have a right to issue injunctions for the purpose of protecting personal rights by preventing injury to the person. This contention is based, not on any legal enactment, but on the traditional usage of the courts. On the other hand, Mr. James A. Emery contends that "every exercise of mind or body possessing value" is property. Therefore business is property; and the courts may enjoin any act which threatens to interfere with business. We agree with his conclusion, but not with his premiss.

The usage of the courts may perhaps sustain Mr. Ralston's contention; though we do not think that is the case. Mr. Bernard Flexner, in a paper in this same volume, on the Juvenile Court, shows that in England courts of equity have interfered to protect not merely the property but the persons of children, on the ground that the State has a duty of protecting the child even from wrongs threatened to it by its lawful parent. But if tradition does not accord to courts of equity the right to issue injunctions to protect persons, that right should be accorded to them by legislation. An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure. We are greatly extending the use of preventive medicine. We should also extend the use of preventive law. It is better to prevent a wrong before it is perpetrated than to punish the doer of it afterward.

Mr. Emery's claim that business *is* property appears to us quite as untenable as Mr. Ralston's claim that injunctions should not be issued for the protection of persons. Business is an activity. Property is a thing. Activity is not a thing. Mr. Furuseth, of Washington, in a series of definitions taken from standard authorities, makes this very clear: "Property is ownership, the exclusive right of any person freely to use, enjoy, and dispose of any determinate object, whether real or personal" (English and American Encyclopædia of Law). "Business is that which occupies the time, attention, and labor of men for the purpose of livelihood or profit and improvement." It is possible that legal authority may be found for the claim that these two things are synonymous; for, among the great multiplicity of judges, legal authority may be found for almost any proposition. But certainly it is not common sense to treat business and property as identical; and, if law is common sense applied to human relations, to say that business and property are synonyms is not good law.

As to the use of injunctions, we hold that it is legitimate to use injunctions for the protection of business as well as of property, not because business *is* property, but because personal activity has the same right to the protection of law that personal property has.

How as to the abuse of injunctions? It is an abuse of injunctions to enjoin men from combining to do what it is perfectly lawful for them to do individually.

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This is explicitly declared by Act of Parliament in England, which enacts that "an act done in pursuance of an agreement or combination by two or more persons shall, if done in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute, not be actionable unless the act, if done without any such agreement or combination, will be actionable." This seems to us absolutely just. The court should not be permitted to enjoin two or more persons from doing an act which each of them may lawfully do as individuals. If there are certain combinations which should be made illegal, they should be made so by act of the Legislature, as they have been made in England by act of Parliament.

It is therefore an abuse of the injunction to use it for the purpose of preventing a body of workingmen from doing an act which they have a legal right to do, such as to unite in leaving their employer's employment or to persuade by peaceful means others from entering that employment. If such a combination to leave employment or to persuade others from entering it is to be made illegal, it should be made so by the legislature, not by the courts. The English Parliament has made such combinations in certain cases illegal. It has, for example, made it illegal for any person to break, willfully and maliciously, a contract of service with a water or gas company, with the effect of depriving the inhabitants of the town of their supply of gas or water. And it has made it illegal for one person to attempt to compel another person from taking a job, while it at the same time explicitly declares that it shall be legal for him to use peaceful persuasion for that purpose.

It is an abuse of the injunction to use it for the purpose of enjoining a person from doing an act which is declared by law to be a criminal act, and then bringing a person accused of that act before a single judge in order to try, convict, and sentence him for what is a crime, without giving him the right of trial by jury. We pointed out the injustice of this abuse last week, and need not dwell upon it here.

It is an abuse of injunctions to grant them habitually and as matter of course, without notice, and leave the party enjoined deprived, until a postponed hearing, of what may prove to be his rights, without having given him any opportunity to show that his rights are invaded by the injunction. Such a practice has grown up in the courts, in spite of decisions in condemnation of it. Either by court action or by legislative action this abuse should be promptly and peremptorily ended.

The alleged abuse of injunctions by the courts in trade disputes has led trades unions to ask for legislation prohibiting the use of injunctions against trade organizations. In this the trades union has taken an untenable position. This is class legislation. Class legislation is always wrong. That there is already some class legislation in America is reason, not for enacting more class legislation, but for abolishing what already exists. It is not merely the trades unions that should be protected from the abuse of injunctions. Publishers should be protected as well as printers, railways as well as trainmen, mine operators as well as mine workers. If the trades unions would abolish their demand for trade union legislation, if they would follow the example of their brothers across the sea, if they would unite their forces in a demand for legislation for the benefit of all the people, they would win. We commend to their consideration the following, which we shall venture to call the Outlook platform:

1. Congress has authority to define, direct, and limit the powers of the courts.

2. Congress should forbid the issuing of injunctions without notice except in extraordinary cases, and should in no case allow an injunction issued without notice to continue for more than two or three days without giving an opportunity for a hearing.

3. Congress should prohibit the courts from enjoining any person or combination of persons from doing acts which it is lawful to do. The courts must enforce law, not make law.

4. In case any act prohibited by an injunction is also a criminal act, for which trial by jury is guaranteed by Amendment V of the Constitution, the person accused of committing it should have a right either to have a trial before a jury by the court which enjoined the act, or to have the question whether he is guilty or not transferred to a criminal court.

Organized labor would make its demand

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for these acts of justice more effective if it would accompany that demand with a proposal to incorporate in American law some of the provisions respecting public service corporations, picketing, and boycotts which have been incorporated in English law—provisions in which the lawful rights of workingmen, as well as of the community, are carefully safeguarded.

JESUS CHRIST A LIFE-GIVER

From the considerable number of letters which we have received about the teaching of Jesus concerning the acquisition and possession of property, we have selected the two which are published on another page. One correspondent argues that the direction "Lay not up for yourselves treasures on earth" is an absolute condemnation of all acquisition of wealth; because the added clause, "where moth and rust doth corrupt and thieves break through and steal," must be either a qualification or an exception; and it cannot be a qualification, since this would imply that there are places in heaven where moth and rust corrupt and where thieves break through and steal. The other correspondent illustrates to what result men are driven by this literalism. He argues that Christianity is quite impracticable, and Jesus Christ an enthusiast and a doctrinaire, who may be compared to Dowie. In the history of the world the literalism illustrated by the one correspondent has invariably begotten the rejection of Jesus as a teacher which is illustrated by the other.

If the first correspondent is right in his method of interpretation, the second would be right in his rejection of the teaching. If Christ is to be regarded as a lawgiver and his precepts as statutes for the regulation of conduct, the man of common sense would have to reject them as both inadequate and impracticable—that is, if regarded as statutes and interpreted by the canons applied by a lawyer to the interpretation of statutes. They are inadequate as rules or statutes. If the right hand tempts us, we are to cut it off—but nothing is said against yielding to temptation by the left hand. We are to give generous measure to our neighbor—but short weights are not forbidden. We must forgive till seventy times seven—but on the four hundred and ninety-first offense may indulge in vengeance. We are to do unto others as we would like them to do to us—and therefore if we like to hear our neighbor's piano at eleven o'clock at night, we may play our own although Thomas Carlyle is on the other side of the partition. To such conclusions consistent literalism would carry us.

And, as these precepts are inadequate as regulations of conduct, so they are impracticable. He who when smitten on the one cheek should turn and invite a blow on the other would be more likely to provoke than to pacify his assailant. He who takes no thought for the morrow is likely to be a beggar in his old age. He who gives to every one that asks him would, however rich he might be, soon have nothing left to give.

And such an interpretation of Christ's precepts as regulations of conduct makes his utterances at one time wholly inconsistent with his utterances and actions at other times. He who is supposed to have forbidden all use of force drove the traders from the Temple. He who is supposed to forbid all provision for the future directed the fragments of food to be gathered up when the multitude were fed, that nothing should be lost. He who is thought to have forbidden all keeping of food and clothing in store, in his picture of the last judgment commended those who had clothed the naked and fed the hungry, which they certainly could not have done if they had not possessed clothing and food to give away. He who is supposed to have condemned all wealth, habitually accepted the hospitality of the wealthy, and was buried in a rich man's tomb.

To suppose that the instructions of Jesus are rules for the regulation of conduct is to suppose that he was simply a new kind of Pharisee, differing from the others only in giving to the world different rules. And this is exactly what his disciples sometimes thought. As when they asked him for a form of prayer, and we have taken his illustration directing us to go to our heavenly Father with our common needs—for food, guidance, strength, forgiveness—as though it were a new ritual of universal obligation. As when Peter asked for a rule specifying the number of times we are to forgive

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the one who wrongs us. As when Jesus told his disciples to beware of the leaven of the Pharisees, and they said, It is because we have brought with us no bread. As when he cautioned them that to follow him meant conflict and a sword, and they eagerly produced a couple of swords to show him that they were ready for the fray.

To read Christ's precepts as rules for the regulation of conduct is wholly to misunderstand the mission of Jesus Christ and the nature of Christianity. Christianity is not a rule of conduct; it is an inward life. The precepts of Jesus Christ are not statutes; they are illustrations of a spirit of life. He is not a law-giver; he is a life-giver. It is true that he gave one law; but only one. "A new commandment give I unto you, that ye love one another as I have loved you." He gave one test of life, and only one: "He that would be greatest among you, let him be the servant of all." Love is Christ's only law; service his only test of character. That God loves his children and serves them and suffers for them—that is the whole of Christ's theology. That we are to be God-like, are to love one another and serve one another and suffer for one another—that is the whole of Christ's ethics. Love, service, sacrifice—that is the whole of Christianity.

He who believes that God loves him and cares for him will not worry about the future; but he will provide for others as God has provided for him. He who loves his neighbor and cares for him will not be happy in himself faring sumptuously every day, while Lazarus lies hungry and sore at his door; but if he accumulates it will only be that he may serve, and he will make his process of accumulation itself a social service. No wise regulation of conduct will make one righteous if his inward motives are those of greed and self-aggrandizement. No unwise regulation of conduct will make one unrighteous if his inward motives are love for his fellows and ambition of service. The Christian life Jesus compared to a spring of water within the soul. To have the spring of love within one's self and then live a free, joyous, spontaneous, Christlike life is to be a Christian.

Who supposes that it is wrong to build a hospital, equip it with beds and medicines, and endow it with interest-bearing bonds? Or to build a college and equip it with libraries and laboratories, and give it endowment? But this is to lay up treasure on earth. And it may well be a question for one who has a million of dollars to put at the service of his fellows, whether he had better put it into a hospital for healing, a college for education, or a railway which will open up an unoccupied country that the homeless may find therein homes and the poor an opportunity to earn a livelihood. Jesus condemned drunkenness but not drinking, gluttony but not eating, selfish anger but not the wrath of love, greed and covetousness but not the acquisition of wealth and the industry which acquires it. He no more set any definite limits to the amount one might acquire than to the amount one might eat.

Christ's precepts are not rules for the regulation of conduct. They are illustrations of the spirit of life. All his instructions might be summarized in some such way as this: Believe that your Father loves you. Trust in his love. If you are in trouble, carry your trouble to him; if in sorrow, let him comfort you; if you are in the greatest of all troubles and the greatest of all sorrows, if you have fallen into sin, let not that separate you from him; go to him for forgiveness and help in beginning life afresh. Live in companionship with him. Ask him to fill you with his spirit, that others may come to you with their troubles; that others in sorrow you may comfort; that others who have fallen into sin you may help to put upon their feet again. So will you be the children of your Father which is in heaven. Love, Service, Sacrifice is the interpretation of God and the secret of life.

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THE PROGRESSIVES, PAST AND PRESENT

BY THEODORE ROOSEVELT

When I came to prepare my speech at Osawatomie, I found I desired to say more than could well go into it; and part of what I thus wished to say I put in this article.

THERE have been two great crises in our country's history: first when it was formed, and then again when it was perpetuated. The formative period included not merely the Revolutionary War, but the creation and adoption of the Constitution and the first dozen years of work under it. Then came sixty years during which we spread across the continent—years of vital growth, but of growth without rather than growth within. Then came the time of stress and strain which culminated in the Civil War, the period of terrible struggle upon the issue of which depended the justification of all that we had done earlier, and which marked the second great period of growth and development within. The name of John Brown will be forever associated with this second period of the Nation's history; and Kansas was the theater upon which the first act of the second of our great National life dramas was played. It was the result of the struggle in Kansas which determined that our country should be in deed as well as in name devoted to both union and freedom, that the great experiment of democratic government on a national scale should succeed and not fail. It was a heroic struggle; and, as is inevitable with all such struggles, it had also a dark and a terrible side. Very much was done of good, and much, also, of evil; and, as was inevitable in such a period of revolution, often the same man did both good and evil. For our great good fortune as a nation, we, the people of the United States as a whole, can now afford to forget the evil, or at least to remember it without bitterness, and to fix our eyes with pride on the good that was accomplished. Even in ordinary times there are very few of us who do not see the problems of life as through a glass, darkly; and when the glass is clouded by the murk of furious popular passion, the vision of the best and the bravest is dimmed. Looking back, we are all of us now able to do justice to the valor and the disinterestedness and the love of the right as to each it was given to see the right, shown both by the men of the North and the men of the South in that contest which was finally decided by the attitude of the West. We can see the Puritan soldier, the man of the Bible and the sword, embodied again in Stonewall Jackson, just as we see that Puritan embodied in the stern soldiers who warred against Jackson. We can admire the heroic valor, the sincerity, the self-devotion shown alike by the men who wore the blue and the men who wore the gray; and our sadness that such men should have had to fight one another is tempered by the glad knowledge that ever hereafter their descendants shall be found fighting side by side, struggling in peace as well as in war for the uplift of their common country, all alike resolute to raise to the highest pitch of honor and usefulness the nation to which they all belong.

I do not speak of this struggle of the past merely from the historic standpoint. Our interest is primarily in the application to-day of the lessons taught by the contest of half a century ago. It is of little use for us to pay lip loyalty to the mighty men of the past unless we sincerely endeavor to apply to the problems of the present precisely the qualities which in other crises enabled the men of that day to meet those crises. It is half melancholy and half amusing to see the way in which well-meaning people gather to do honor to the men who, in company with John Brown, and under the lead of Abraham Lincoln, faced and solved the great problems of the nineteenth century, while at the same time these same good people nervously shrink from or frantically denounce those who are trying to meet the problems of the twentieth in the spirit which was accountable for the successful solution of the problems of Lincoln's time.

John Brown stands to us now as repre-

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senting the men and the generation who rendered the greatest service ever rendered this country. He stood for heroic valor, grim energy, fierce fidelity to high ideals. A great debt is owed to John Brown because he is one of the most striking figures in the mighty struggle which was to keep us forever a free and united nation, which was to secure the continuance of the most tremendous democratic experiment ever tried. He did much in his life and more in his death; he embodied the inspiration of the men of his generation; his fate furnished the theme of the song which most stirred the hearts of the soldiers. John Brown's work was brought to completion, was made perfect, by the men who bore aloft the banner of the Union during the four terrible years which intervened between Sumter and Appomattox. To the soldiers who fought through those years—and of course to a very few of their civilian chiefs, like Lincoln—is due the supreme debt of the Nation. They alone, of all our people since we became a nation, rendered to us and to all who come after us a service literally indispensable. They occupy the highest and most honorable position ever occupied by any men of any generation in our country.

Of that generation of men to whom we owe so much, the man to whom we owe most is, of course, Lincoln. Valor, energy, disinterestedness, idealism—all these were his; and his also was that lofty and far-seeing wisdom which alone could make the valor, the disinterestedness, the energy, the idealism, of service to the Republic. Here again, in meeting the problems of to-day, let us profit by, and welcome, and co-operate with the John Browns; but let us also remember that the problems can really be solved only if we approach them in the spirit of Abraham Lincoln.

John Brown prepared the way; but if the friends of freedom and union had surrendered themselves to his leadership, the cause of freedom and union would have been lost. After his death Lincoln spoke of him as follows:

"John Brown's effort was peculiar. It was not a slave insurrection. It was an attempt by white men to get up a revolt among slaves in which the slaves refused to participate. In fact, it was so absurd that the slaves, with all their ignorance, saw plainly enough it could not succeed. That affair, in its philosophy, corresponds with the many attempts related in history at the assassination of kings and emperors. An enthusiast broods over the oppression of a people till he fancies himself commissioned by Heaven to liberate them. He ventures the attempt, which ends in little less than his own execution. Orsini's attempt on Louis Napoleon and John Brown's attempt at Harper's Ferry were, in their philosophy, precisely the same. The eagerness to cast blame on Old England in the one case and on New England in the other does not disprove the sameness of the two things."

In our struggle to-day we can study Lincoln's career purely as an example to emulate; we can study John Brown's career partly as such an example, but partly also as a warning. I think such study is especially necessary for the extremists among the very men with whom my own sympathy is especially keen. I am a progressive; I could not be anything else; indeed, as the years go by I become more, and not less, radically progressive. To my mind the failure resolutely to follow progressive policies is the negation of democracy as well of progress, and spells disaster. But for this very reason I feel concern when progressives act with heedless violence, or go so far and so fast as to invite reaction. The experience of John Brown illustrates the evil of the revolutionary short-cut to ultimate good ends. The liberty of the slave was desirable, but it was not to be brought about by a slave insurrection. The better distribution of property is desirable, but it is not to be brought about by the anarchic form of Socialism which would destroy all private capital and tend to destroy all private wealth. It represents not progress, but retrogression, to propose to destroy capital because the power of unrestrained capital is abused. John Brown rendered a great service to the cause of liberty in the earlier Kansas days; but his notion that the evils of slavery could be cured by a slave insurrection was a delusion analogous to the delusions of those who expect to cure the evils of

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plutocracy by arousing the baser passions of workingmen against the rich in an endeavor at violent industrial revolution. And, on the other hand, the brutal and shortsighted greed of those who profit by what is wrong in the present system, and the attitude of those who oppose all effort to do away with this wrong, serve in their turn as incitements to such revolution; just as the insolence of the ultra pro-slavery men finally precipitated the violent destruction of slavery.

In one of Lincoln's addresses immediately after his second election, at a time when any man of less serene magnanimity would have been tempted to advocate extreme measures and to betray personal exultation, or even to show hatred of his opponents, he said, in part:

"Human nature will not change. In any future great national affair, compared with the men of this, we shall have as weak and as strong, as silly and as wise, as bad and as good. Let us therefore study the incidents of this as philosophy to learn wisdom from, and none of them as wrongs to be revenged. May not all having a common interest reunite in a common effort to save our common country? For my own part, I have striven and shall strive to avoid placing any obstacle in the way. So long as I have been here I have not willingly planted a thorn in any man's bosom. May I ask those who have not differed with me to join with me in this same spirit towards those who have?"

Surely such a union of indomitable resolution in the achievement of a given purpose, with patience and moderation in the policy pursued, and with kindly charity and consideration and friendliness to those of opposite belief, marks the very spirit in which we of to-day should approach the pressing problems of the present.

These problems have to do with securing a more just and generally widespread welfare, so that there may be a more substantial measure of equality in moral and physical well-being among the people whom the men of Lincoln's day kept undivided as citizens of a single country, and freed from the curse of negro slavery. They did their part; now let us do ours.

Fundamentally, our chief problem may be summed up as the effort to make men, as nearly as they can be made, both free and equal; the freedom and equality necessarily resting on a basis of justice and brotherhood. It is not possible, with the imperfections of mankind, ever wholly to achieve such an ideal, if only for the reason that the shortcomings of men are such that complete and unrestricted individual liberty would mean the negation of even approximate equality, while a rigid and absolute equality would imply the destruction of every shred of liberty. Our business is to secure a practical working combination between the two. This combination should aim, on the one hand, to secure to each man the largest measure of individual liberty that is compatible with his fellows getting from life a just share of the good things to which they are legitimately entitled; while, on the other hand, it should aim to bring about among well-behaved, hard-working people a measure of equality which shall be substantial, and which shall yet permit to the individual the personal liberty of achievement and reward without which life would not be worth living, without which all progress would stop, and civilization first stagnate and then go backwards. Such a combination cannot be completely realized. It can be realized at all only by the application of the spirit of fraternity, the spirit of brotherhood. This spirit demands that each man shall learn and apply the principle that his liberty must be used not only for his own benefit but for the interest of the community as a whole, while the community in its turn, acting as a whole, shall understand that while it must insist on its own rights as against the individual, it must also scrupulously safeguard these same rights of the individual.

Lincoln set before us forever our ideal when he stated that this country was dedicated to a government of, by, and for the people. Our whole experiment is meaningless unless we are to make this a democracy in the fullest sense of the word, in the broadest as well as the highest and deepest significance of the word. It must be made a democracy economically as well as politically. This does not mean that there shall not be leadership in the economic as in the political world, or that there shall not be ample reward for high distinction and great service. Quite the

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contrary. It is our boast that in our political affairs we have combined genuine political equality with high distinction in individual service. During a century and a third we here on this continent—more completely than anywhere else at any other time—have actually realized the democratic principle, the principle of popular government. Yet during this period we have produced, in the persons of Washington and Lincoln, two leaders who on the roll of the world's worthies stand higher than any other two men ever produced by any other country during a similar length of time. We believe that it is entirely possible to combine equality of rights and at least an approximate equality in the opportunity to achieve material well-being, with the opportunity for the highest kind of individual distinction. Hitherto our efforts towards this end have related to purely political matters; we must now strive to achieve the same end in economic matters.

To achieve our purpose we cannot trust merely to haphazard, easy-going methods with complete absence of official Government action and a too exclusively material standard. These did well enough in the pioneer days when problems were comparatively simple, and when the country was still so large that Uncle Sam could give every man a farm, so that, if any man did not succeed where he was, all he had to do was to move somewhere else. We must be true to the spirit of our ancestors, and therefore we must avoid any servility to the letter of what they said and did. There must be equal rights for all, and special privileges for none; but we must remember that to achieve this ideal it is necessary to construe rights and privileges very differently from the way they were necessarily construed, by statesmen and people alike, a century ago. We must strive to achieve our ideal by an exercise of governmental power which the conditions did not render necessary a century ago, and of which our forefathers would have felt suspicious. This is no reflection on the wisdom of our forefathers; it is simply an acknowledgment that conditions have now changed. If our farmers now used the wasteful methods that served for their great-grandfathers they would not merely fail in the present, but would work a grave wrong to the American citizens of the future. In the same way we must apply new political methods to meet the new political needs, or else we shall suffer, and our children also. In the same way, when we speak of the "square deal," we include two thoughts, each supplementary to the other. The square deal can be secured in part by honest enforcement of existing laws, by honest application of the principles upon which this Government was founded, by the exercise of an aroused and enlightened public opinion. But in order completely to secure it, there must be whatever legislation is necessary to meet the new conditions caused by the extraordinary industrial change and development that have taken place during the last two generations. The greatest evils in our industrial system to-day are those which rise from the abuses of aggregated wealth; and our great problem is to overcome these evils and cut out these abuses. No one man can deal with this matter. It is the affair of the people as a whole. When aggregated wealth demands what is unfair, its immense power can be met only by the still greater power of the people as a whole, exerted in the only way it can be exerted, through the Government; and we must be resolutely prepared to use the power of the Government to any needed extent, even though it be necessary to tread paths which are yet untrod. The complete change in economic conditions means that governmental methods never yet resorted to may have to be employed in order to deal with them. We cannot tolerate anything approaching a monopoly, especially in the necessaries of life, except on terms of such thoroughgoing governmental control as will absolutely safeguard every right of the public. Moreover, one of the most sinister manifestations of great corporate wealth during recent years has been its tendency to interfere and dominate in politics.

It is not merely that we want to see the game played fairly. We also want to see the rules changed, so that there shall be both less opportunity and less temptation to cheat, and less chance for some few people to gain a profit to which either they are not entitled at all, or else which is so enormous as to be greatly in excess

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of what they deserve, even though their services have been great. We wish to do away with the profit that comes from the illegitimate exercise of cunning and craft. We also wish to secure a measurable equality of opportunity, a measurable equality of reward for services of similar value. To do all this, two mutually supplementary movements are necessary. On the one hand, there must be—I think there now is—a genuine and permanent moral awakening, without which no wisdom of legislation or administration really means anything; and, on the other hand, we must try to secure the social and economic legislation without which any improvement due to purely moral agitation is necessarily evanescent.

We pride ourselves upon being a practical people, and therefore we should not be merely empirical in seeking to bring about results. We must set the end in view as the goal; and then, instead of making a fetish of some particular kind of means, we should adopt whatever honorable means will best accomplish the end. In so far as unrestricted individual liberty brings the best results, we should encourage it. But when a point is reached where this complete lack of restriction on individual liberty fails to achieve the best results, then, on behalf of the whole people, we should exercise the collective power of the people, through the State Legislatures in matters of purely local concern, and through the National Legislature when the purpose is so big that only National action can achieve it. There are good people who, being discontented with present-day conditions, think that these conditions can be cured by a return to what they call the "principles of the fathers." In so far as we have departed from the standards of lofty integrity in public and private life to which the greatest men among the founders of the Republic adhered, why, of course, we should return to these principles. We must always remember that no system of legislation can accomplish anything unless back of it we have the right type of National character; unless we have ideals to which our practice measurably conforms. But to go back to the governmental theories of a hundred years ago would accomplish nothing whatever; for it was under the conditions of unrestricted individualism and freedom from Government interference, countenanced by those theories, that the trusts grew up, and private fortunes, enormous far beyond the deserts of the accumulators, were gathered. The old theories of government worked well in sparsely settled communities, before steam, electricity, and machinery had revolutionized our industrial system; but to return to them now would be as hopeless as for the farmers of the present to return to the agricultural implements which met the needs of their predecessors, the farmers who followed in the footsteps of Daniel Boone to Kentucky and Missouri. It may be that, in the past development of our country, complete freedom from all restrictions, and the consequent unlimited encouragement and reward given to the most successful industrial leaders, played a part in which the benefits outweighed the disadvantages. But nowadays such is not the case.

Lincoln had to meet special and peculiar problems, and therefore there was no need and no opportunity for him to devote attention to those other problems which we face, and which in his day were so much less intense than in ours. Nevertheless, he very clearly put the proper democratic view when he said: "I hold that while man exists it is his duty to improve not only his own condition but to assist in ameliorating mankind." And again: "Labor is prior to, and independent of, capital; capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed but for labor. Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves much the higher consideration. Capital has its rights which are as worthy of protection as any other rights. . . . Nor should this lead to a war upon the owners of property. Property is the fruit of labor; property is desirable; is a positive good in the world. Let not him who is houseless pull down the house of another, but let him work diligently and build one for himself, thus by example showing that his own shall be safe from violence when built." It seems to me that in these words Lincoln took substantially the attitude that we ought to take; he showed the proper sense of proportion in his relative estimates of capital and labor, of human rights and property rights. Above all, in this speech, as in so many others, he

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taught a lesson in wise kindliness and charity; an indispensable lesson to us of to-day, for if we approach the work of reform in a spirit of vindictiveness—in a spirit of reckless disregard for the rights of others, or of hatred for men because they are better off than ourselves—we are sure in the end to do not good but damage to all mankind, and especially to those whose especial champions we profess ourselves to be. Violent excess is sure to provoke violent reaction; and the worst possible policy for our country would be one of violent oscillation between reckless upsetting of property rights, and unscrupulous greed manifested under pretense of protecting those rights. The agitator who preaches hatred and practices slander and untruthfulness, and the visionary who promises perfection and accomplishes only destruction, are the worst enemies of reform; and the man of great wealth who accumulates and uses his wealth without regard to ethical standards, who profits by and breeds corruption, and robs and swindles others, is the very worst enemy of property, the very worst enemy of conservatism, the very worst enemy of those "business interests" that only too often regard him with mean admiration and heatedly endeavor to shield him from the consequences of his iniquity.

Now, the object we seek to achieve is twofold. A great democratic commonwealth should seek to produce and reward that individual distinction which results in the efficient performance of needed work, for such performance is of high value to the whole community. But hand in hand with this purpose must go the purpose which Abraham Lincoln designated as the "amelioration of mankind." Only by an intelligent effort to realize this joint process of individual and social betterment can we keep our democracy sound. We all admit this to be true politically; but we have not paid much heed to the question from its economic side. The wage-earner primarily needs what it is pre-eminently to the interest of our democratic commonwealth that he should obtain—that is, a high standard of living, and the opportunity to acquire the means whereby to secure it. Every power of the Nation should be used in helping him to this end; taking care, however, that the help shall be given in such fashion as to represent real help, and not harm; for the worst injury that could be done him or any other man would be to teach him to rely primarily on "the State" instead of on himself. The collective power of the State can help; but it is the individual's own power of self-help which is most important.

Now, I am well aware that demagogues and doctrinaire reformers of a certain type may try to turn such use of the powers of the State into an abuse. We should set our faces like flint against any such abuse. We should make it fully understood by the workingmen—by the men of small means—that we will do everything in our power for them *except what is wrong;* but that we will do wrong for no man—neither for them nor for any one else. Nevertheless, the fact that there are dangers in following a given course merely means that we should follow it with a cautious realization of these dangers, and not that we should abandon it, if on the whole it is the right course.

It is just so with personal liberty. The unlimited freedom which the individual property-owner has enjoyed has been of use to this country in many ways, and we can continue our prosperous economic career only by retaining an economic organization which will offer to the men of the stamp of the great captains of industry the opportunity and inducement to earn distinction. Nevertheless, we as Americans must now face the fact that this great freedom which the individual property-owner has enjoyed in the past has produced evils which were inevitable from its unrestrained exercise. It is this very freedom—this absence of State and National restraint—that has tended to create a small class of enormously wealthy and economically powerful men whose chief object is to hold and increase their power. Any feeling of special hatred toward these men is as absurd as any feeling of special regard. Some of them have gained their power by cheating and swindling, just as some very small business men cheat and swindle; but, as a whole, big men are no better and no worse than their small competitors, from a moral standpoint. Where they do wrong it is even more important to pun-

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ish them than to punish a small man who does wrong, because their position makes it especially wicked for them to yield to temptation; but the prime need is to change the conditions which enable them to accumulate a power which it is not for the general welfare that they should hold or exercise, and to make this change not only without vindictiveness, without doing injustice to individuals, but also in a cautious and temperate spirit, testing our theories by actual practice, so that our legislation may represent the minimum of restrictions upon the individual initiative of the exceptional man which is compatible with obtaining the maximum of welfare for the average man. We grudge no man a fortune which represents merely his own power and sagacity exercised with entire regard to the welfare of his fellows. But the fortune must not only be honorably obtained and well used; it is also essential that it should not represent a necessary incident of widespread, even though partial, economic privation. It is not even enough that the fortune should have been gained without doing damage to the community. We should only permit it to be gained and kept so long as the gaining and the keeping represent benefit to the community. This I know implies a policy of a far more active governmental interference with social and economic conditions than we have hitherto seen in this country; but I think we have to face the fact that such increase in governmental activity is now necessary. We should work cautiously and patiently and with complete absence of animosity, except toward the individuals whom we are certain have been guilty of flagrant evil; but we should also work firmly to realize the democratic purpose, economically and socially as well as politically. We must make popular government responsible for the betterment both of the individual and of society at large.

Let me repeat once more that, while such responsible governmental action is an absolutely necessary thing to achieve our purpose, yet it will be worse than useless if it is not accompanied by a serious effort on the part of the individuals composing the community thus to achieve each for himself a higher standard of individual betterment, not merely material but spiritual and intellectual. In other words, our democracy depends on individual improvement just as much as upon collective effort to achieve our common social improvement. The most serious troubles of the present day are unquestionably due in large part to lack of efficient governmental action, and cannot be remedied without such action; but neither can any remedy permanently avail unless back of it stands a high general character of individual citizenship.

This governmental improvement can be accomplished partly by the States, in so far as any given evil affects only one State, or one or two States; in so far as a merely local remedy is needed for a merely local disease. But the betterment must be accomplished partly, and I believe mainly, through the National Government. I do not ask for over-centralization; but I do ask that we work in a spirit of broad and far-reaching nationalism when we deal with what concerns our people as a whole. I no more make a fetish of centralization than of decentralization. Any given case must be treated on its special merits. Each community should be required to deal with all that is of merely local interest; and nothing should be undertaken by the Government of the whole country which can thus wisely be left to local management. But those functions of government which no wisdom on the part of the States will enable them satisfactorily to perform must be performed by the National Government. We are all Americans; our common interests are as broad as the continent; the most vital problems are those that affect us all alike. The regulation of big business, and therefore the control of big property in the public interest, are preeminently instances of such functions which can only be performed efficiently and wisely by the Nation; and, moreover, so far as labor is employed in connection with inter-State business, it should also be treated as a matter for the National Government. The National power over inter-State commerce warrants our dealing with such questions as employers' liability in inter-State business, and the protection and compensation for injuries of railway employees. The National Government of right has, and must exercise,

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its power for the protection of labor which is connected with the instrumentalities of inter-State commerce.

The National Government belongs to the whole American people; and where the whole American people are interested that interest can be effectively guarded only by the National Government. We ought to use the National Government as an agency, a tool, wherever it is necessary, in order that we may organize our entire political, economical, and social life in accordance with a far-reaching democratic purpose. We should make the National governmental machinery an adequate and constructive instrument for constructive work in the realization of a National democratic ideal. I lay emphasis upon the word *constructive.* Too often the Federal Government, and above all the Federal judiciary, has permitted itself to be employed for purely negative purposes—that is, to thwart the action of the States while not permitting efficient National action in its place. From the National standpoint nothing can be worse—nothing can be full of graver menace—for the National life than to have the Federal courts active in nullifying State action to remedy the evils arising from the abuse of great wealth, unless the Federal authorities, executive, legislative, and judicial alike, do their full duty in effectually meeting the need of a thoroughgoing and radical supervision and control of big inter-State business in all its forms. Many great financiers, and many of the great corporation lawyers who advise them, still oppose any effective regulation of big business by the National Government, because, for the time being, it serves their interest to trust to the chaos which is caused on the one hand by inefficient laws and conflicting and often unwise efforts at regulation by State governments, and, on the other hand, by the efficient protection against such regulation afforded by the Federal courts. In the end this condition will prove intolerable, and will hurt most of all the very class which it at present benefits. The continuation of such conditions would mean that the corporations would find that they had purchased immunity from the efficient exercise of Federal regulative power at the cost of being submitted to a violent and radical local supervision, inflamed to fury by having repeatedly been thwarted, and not chastened by exercised responsibility. To refuse to take, or to permit others to take, wise and practical action for the remedying of abuses is to invite unwise action under the lead of violent extremists.

I do not wish to see the Nation forced into ownership of the railways if it can possibly be avoided; and the only alternative is thoroughgoing and effective regulation, which shall be based on full knowledge of all the facts, including a physical valuation of the property, the details of its capitalization, and the like. We should immediately set about securing this physical valuation. The Government should oversee the issuance of all stocks and bonds, and should have complete power over rates and traffic agreements. The railways are really highways, and it is the fundamental right of the people as a whole to see that they are open to use on just and reasonable terms, equal to all persons. The Hepburn Bill marked a great step in advance; the law of last session, in its final shape and as actually passed, marks, on the whole, another decided step in advance.

Corporate regulation is merely one phase of a vast problem. The true friend of property, the true conservative, is he who insists that property shall be the servant and not the master of the commonwealth; who insists that the creature of man's making shall be the servant and not the master of the man who made it. The citizens of the United States must effectively control the mighty commercial forces which they have themselves called into being.

Corporations are necessary to the effective use of the forces of production and commerce under modern conditions. We cannot effectively prohibit all combinations without doing far-reaching economic harm; and it is mere folly to do as we have done in the past—to try to combine incompatible systems—that is, to try both to prohibit and regulate combinations. Combinations in industry are the result of an imperative economic law which cannot be repealed by political legislation. The effort at prohibiting all combination has substantially failed. The only course left is active corporate regulation—that is, the

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control of corporations for the common good—the suppression of the evils that they work, and the retention, as far as may be, of that business efficiency in their use which has placed us in the forefront of industrial peoples. I need waste no words upon our right so to control them. The corporation is the creature of government, and the people have the right to handle it as they desire; all they need pay attention to is the expediency of realizing this right in some way that shall be productive of good and not harm. The corporate manager who achieves success by honest efficiency in giving the best service to the public should be favored because we all benefit by his efficiency. He realizes Abraham Lincoln's definition which I have quoted above, because he works for his own material betterment and at the same time for the "amelioration of mankind," and he should be helped by the Government because his success is good for the National welfare. But a man who grasps and holds business power by breaking the industrial efficiency of others, who wins success by methods which are against the public interest and degrading to the public morals, should not be permitted to exercise such power. Instead of punishing him by a long and doubtful process of the law after the wrong has been committed, there should be such effective Government regulation as to check the evil tendencies at the moment that they start to develop. Overcapitalization in all its shapes is one of the prime evils; for it is one of the most fruitful methods by which unscrupulous men get improper profits, and when the holdings come into innocent hands we are forced into the uncomfortable position of being obliged to reduce the dividends of innocent investors, or of permitting the public and the wage-workers, either or both, to suffer. Such really effective control over great inter-State business can come only from the National Government. The American people demands the new Nationalism needful to deal with the new problems; it puts the National need above sectional or personal advantage; it is impatient of the utter confusion which results from local legislatures attempting to treat National issues as local issues; it is still more impatient of the National impotence which springs from the over-division of governmental powers; the impotence which makes it possible for local selfishness, or for the vulpine legal cunning which is hired by wealthy special interests, to bring National activities to a deadlock.

The control must be exercised in several different ways. It may be that National incorporation is not at the moment possible; but there must be some affirmative National control, on terms which will secure publicity in the affairs of and complete supervision and control over the big, Nation-wide business corporations; a control that will prevent and not legalize abuses. Such control should imply the issuance of securities by corporations only under thoroughgoing Governmental supervision, and after compliance with Governmental requirements which shall effectually prevent overcapitalization. Such control should protect and favor the corporation which acts honestly, exactly as it should check and punish, when it cannot prevent, every species of dishonesty.

In the Inter-State Commerce Commission and in the Federal Bureau of Corporations we have bodies which, if their powers are sufficiently enlarged after the right fashion, can render great and substantial service. The average American citizen should have presented to him in a simple and easily comprehended form the truth about the business affairs that affect his daily life as consumer, employee, employer, as investor, as voter. The issue of securities should be subject to rigorous Government supervision. There are concrete instances of unfair competition that can be reached under the Federal criminal legislation, and they should be attacked and destroyed in the courts. But the laws should be such that normally, and save in extraordinary circumstances, there should be no need of recourse to the courts. What is needed is administrative supervision and control. This should be so exercised that the highways of commerce and opportunity should be open to all; and not nominally open, but really open, a consistent effort being made to deprive every man of any advantage that is not due to his own superiority and efficiency, controlled by moral purpose. The National Bureau of Corporations has not been given the powers or the funds

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to develop its full usefulness, and yet it offers one of the prime means at the disposal of the people of keeping them fully acquainted with all the facts about corporation control. We have a right to expect from this Bureau and from the Inter-State Commerce Commission a very high grade of public service. We should be as sure of the proper conduct of inter-State railways and the proper management of inter-State business as we are now sure of the conduct and management of the National banks, and we should have as effective supervision in one case as in the other.

Not only as a matter of justice and honesty, but as a matter of prime popular interest, we should see that this control is so exercised as to favor a proper return to the upright business manager and honest investor. In the matter of railway rates, for instance, it is just as much our duty to see that they are not too low as that they are not too high. We must preserve the right of the railway employee to proper wages and the right of the investor to proper interest as scrupulously as we preserve the right of the shipper and the producer and the consumer. We cannot afford to do injustice, or suffer it to be done, to any of these. But in order to do justice we must have full knowledge. We must have the right to find out every fact connected with the business of the railway, so as to base our judgment, not on any one fact, but on all taken together. Inasmuch as it is so often impossible to punish wrongs done in the past, and to prevent the consequences of the wrongs thus committed being felt by one innocent class, without shifting the burden to the shoulders of another innocent class, we ought to provide that hereafter business shall be carried on from its inception in such a way as to prevent swindling. Incidentally, this will also tend to prevent that excessive profit by one man, which may not be swindling, under existing laws, but which nevertheless is against the interest of the commonwealth. To know all the facts is of as much interest to the investor and the wage-worker as to the shipper, the producer, the consumer. Full knowledge of the past helps us in dealing with the future. If we find that high rates are due to overcapitalization in the past, or to any kind of sharp practice in the past, then, whether or not it is possible to take action which will partly remedy the wrong, we are certainly in a better position to prevent a repetition of the wrong.

Let me, in closing, put my position in a nutshell. When I say that I am for the square deal, I mean not merely that I stand for fair play under the present rules of the game, but that I stand for having these rules changed so as to work for a more substantial equality of opportunity and of reward for equally good service. So far as possible, the reward should be based upon service; and this necessarily implies that where a man renders us service in return for the fortune he receives, he has the right to receive it only on terms just to the whole people. For this reason there should be a heavily progressive National inheritance tax on big fortunes. The really big fortune, by the mere fact of its size, acquires qualities which differentiate it in kind as well as in degree from what is possessed by men of relatively small means. A heavily progressive inheritance tax on all such fortunes (heaviest on absentees) has the good qualities of an income tax, without its drawbacks; it is far more beneficial to the community at large, and far less burdensome to private individuals, as well as far more easily collected. A moderate, but progressive, income tax, carefully devised to fall genuinely on those who ought to pay, would, I believe, be a good thing; but a heavy and heavily progressive inheritance tax on great fortunes would be a far better thing.

I have tried to set before you my creed. I believe in property rights, but I believe in them as adjuncts to, and not as substitutes for, human rights. I believe that normally the rights of property coincide with the rights of man; but where they do not, then the rights of man must be put above the rights of property. I believe in shaping the ends of government to protect property; but wherever the alternative must be faced, I am for man and not for property. I am far from underestimating the importance of dividends, but I rank dividends below human character. I know well that if there is not sufficient prosperity the people will in the end rebel against any system, no mat-

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ter how exalted morally; and reformers must not bring upon the people permanent economic ruin, or the reforms themselves will go down in the ruin. But we must be ready to face any temporary disaster—whether or not brought on by those who will war against us to the knife—if only through such disaster can we attain our goal. And those who oppose all reform will do well to remember that ruin in its worst form is inevitable if our National life brings us nothing whatever but a swollen and badly distributed material prosperity. In other words, I feel that material interests are chiefly good, not in themselves, but as an indispensable foundation upon which we should build a higher superstructure, a superstructure without which the foundation becomes worthless. Therefore I believe that the destinies of this country should be shaped primarily by moral forces, and by material forces only as they are subordinated to these moral forces. I believe that material wealth is an exceedingly valuable servant, and a particularly abhorrent master, in our National life. I think one end of government should be to achieve prosperity; but it should follow this end chiefly to serve an even higher and more important end—that of promoting the character and welfare of the average man. In the long run, and inevitably, the actual control of the government will be determined by the chief end which the government subserves. If the end and aim of government action is merely to accumulate general material prosperity, treating such prosperity as an end in itself and not as a means, then it is inevitable that material wealth and the masters of that wealth will dominate and control the course of national action. If, on the other hand, the achievement of material wealth is treated, not as an end of government, but as a thing of great value, it is true—so valuable as to be indispensable—but of value only in connection with the achievement of other ends, then we are free to seek through our government, and through the supervision of our individual activities, the realization of a true democracy. Then we are free to seek not only the heaping up of material wealth, but a wise and generous distribution of such wealth so as to diminish grinding poverty, and, so far as may be, to equalize social and economic no less than political opportunity.

The people as a whole can be benefited morally and materially by a system which shall permit of ample reward for exceptional efficiency, but which shall nevertheless secure to the average man who does his work faithfully and well, the reward to which he is entitled. Remember that I speak only of the man who does his work faithfully and well. The man who shirks his work, who is lazy or vicious, or even merely incompetent, deserves scant consideration; we may be sorry for his family, but it is folly to waste sympathy on the man himself; and it is also folly for sentimentalists to try to shift the burden of blame from such a man himself to "society;" and it is an outrage to give him the reward given to his hard-working, upright, and efficient brother. Still less should we waste sympathy on the criminal; there are altogether too many honest men who need it; and one chief point in dealing with the criminal should be to make him understand that he will be in personal peril if he becomes a lawbreaker. I realize entirely that in the last analysis, with the nation as with the individual, it is private character that counts for most. It is because of this realization that I gladly lay myself open to the charge that I preach too much, and dwell too much upon moral commonplaces; for though I believe with all my heart in the nationalization of this Nation—in the collective use on behalf of the American people of the governmental powers which can be derived only from the American people as a whole—yet I believe even more in the practical application by the individual of those great fundamental moralities.

A certain type of rather thinly intellectual man sneers at these moralities as "commonplaces;" and base and evil men, selfish and shortsighted men, are immensely pleased to see them denounced and derided. Yet surely it is the duty of every public man to try to make all of us keep in mind, and practice, the moralities essential to the welfare of the American people. It is of vital concern to the American people that the men and women of this great Nation should be good husbands and wives, fathers and mothers, sons and daughters; that we should be

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good neighbors, one to another, in business and in social life; that we should each do his or her primary duty in the home without neglecting the duty to the State; that we should dwell even more on our duties than on our rights; that we should work hard and faithfully; that we should prize intelligence, but prize courage and honesty and cleanliness even more. Inefficiency is a curse; and no good intention atones for weakness of will and flabbiness of moral, mental, and physical fiber; yet it is also true that no intellectual cleverness, no ability to achieve material prosperity, can atone for the lack of the great moral qualities which are the surest foundation of national might. In this great free democracy, more than in any other nation under the sun, it behooves all the people so to bear themselves that, not with their lips only but in their lives, they shall show their fealty to the great truth pronounced of old—the truth that Righteousness exalteth a nation.

THE SPIRIT OF DEMOCRACY

BY LYMAN ABBOTT

A SERIES OF ARTICLES IN WHICH THE AUTHOR CONSIDERS THE EFFECT OF DEMOCRACY IN THE FAMILY, IN EDUCATION, IN INDUSTRY, AND IN GOVERNMENT[1]

TENTH PAPER

IN GOVERNMENT—THE ORIGIN AND NATURE OF GOVERNMENT

IN November, 1909, three hundred miners were entombed in a mine at Cherry, near Spring Valley, Illinois, for a week. The living were here imprisoned with the dead. At the end of that time twenty-two miners were rescued alive. They had kept themselves free from the fatal gas by building a barricade. Saved from death by suffocation, they were threatened with death by thirst. Two of these men, self-constituted leaders by virtue of their character, gave orders for the protection of the little community. They directed that the three members of the party who were sick should have the first chance at the little pools of water that were in the depressions that had been scooped out of the veins of coal. Against these orders some of the men revolted, and one was discovered stealing water from one of the sick miners. He was seized by the guard whom the self-constituted leaders had appointed and, after a struggle, was felled to the ground and made a prisoner.

Such is always the origin of government. For the protection of the community some man, or some body of men, exercises control, to which usually the majority yield willing obedience, and, if the government is successful, the minority an unwilling obedience. This government is always based upon power. A command is not a command unless there is power to enforce it. Without such power it is only advice. When one man, or a group of men, gets such control in a community that he or they can make the rest obey their commands, there is the beginning of government; and all governments in the history of the world have begun in this way. Parental government is no exception to this fundamental principle. In the well-ordered family the child obeys the requirements of his parents because they are his parents and have a right to demand submission to their authority, as in a well-ordered State the citizens obey the government because it is the government and has a right to demand their submission to its authority.

This government may be that of one strong man ruling over the rest, in which case it is an autocracy; it may be a small body of men, or class of

[1] These articles are based on and in part condensed from a series of lectures on "The Spirit of Democracy" delivered by the author on consecutive Sunday afternoons before the Brooklyn (New York) Institute in January and February, 1910.

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men, ruling over the rest, then it is an oligarchy; it may be the many ruling over the rest, then it is a democracy. But it is not a government at all unless the ruler, be he one, few, or many, has a recognized authority to issue commands and power to enforce obedience to them. This power may be that of an armed force; then the government is a military government. It may be a traditional or inherited power exercised by a class and resting upon tradition; then it is an hereditary aristocracy. It may be that of a selected body of office-holders intrusted by long custom with practically irresponsible power; then it is a bureaucracy. It may be the power of concentrated wealth exercised through political forms that may be either monarchic, oligarchic, aristocratic, or democratic; then, whatever the political forms, the government is a plutocracy.

To these historic forms of government our fathers attempted to add another—self-government. It was founded upon three fundamental principles, the truth of which was tacitly assumed rather than explicitly expressed. They were:

First, that the mass of men are better able to govern themselves than the few are to govern them; that the perils from the ignorance of the governed are less than the perils from the selfishness of the governors.

Second, that therefore men should be left free to manage their own affairs, and only their own affairs; that therefore each man should govern himself in respect to those things that concern only himself, and each community should govern itself in those things which concern only itself. Hence grew up local self-government and the Federal system: the town government for the town, the municipal government for the city, the county government for the county, the State government for the State, and, finally, the Federal Government for those National interests which concern the people of all the towns, cities, counties, and States. Hence the provision of the Constitution that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people." [1]

[1] It is true that this is a subsequent Amendment to the Constitution, but there is no doubt that it expresses the spirit of the original document, and of those who framed that document.

Third, that men are not born able to govern themselves as fish are to swim or birds are to fly, but that all men have a dormant capacity for self-government; that they must be, and they can be, educated; hence the public school system.

Thus was the new Nation born, inspired by a new ideal and founded on a new political faith—faith in humanity.

But it needed education in a school of conflict. The Declaration of Independence was deemed, both in the South and in the North, to be applicable only to the white race. Slavery, which both in the South and in the North our fathers expected would gradually disappear, grew with our growth and strengthened with our strength. It created in the South what may be called a feudal democracy, a type of aristocracy existing under democratic forms. The war between the two ideals of political life, the Southern and the Northern, established for the Republic two principles: first, the doctrine that all governments exist for the benefit of the governed is as applicable to the government of the negro as to the government of the white man; second, a government founded on self-government is not weak but strong—strong enough to meet successfully what was perhaps the greatest revolt against government which the world has ever seen. This war at home was followed by one between autocracy and democracy, between the Land of the Inquisition and the Land of the Public School. As the Confederates had established the power of the Federal Government within the borders of the Republic, so the Spanish War established the power of the Federated Republic among the governments of the world. If it did not make the Republic a world power, it at least won for that world power a world recognition.

Meanwhile, the country has grown with unprecedented growth in territory from thirteen feeble colonies along the Atlantic coast to a Republic overspreading half a continent; in population from three or four millions to ninety millions; in wealth from poverty to one of the richest communities in the world. Its educational equipment includes a public school system which is certainly the largest, and, unless Germany be an exception, the best in Christendom, supplemented by private schools,

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colleges, universities, and professional schools not surpassed by any in the world; its material equipment of railway, telegraph, telephone, and the like, puts it among the foremost nations in the march of human progress; its moral ideals, exemplified in its various social and educational reforms, and in its free institutions of religion, prove the self-educative value of self-government; and its international influence is seen in the effect of its ideals and institutions upon other lands, which have adopted since the birth of America its representative houses of legislature, its popular suffrage, its public schools, its free assemblies, and its free press.

Meanwhile, this ideal of self-government has been undergoing a change which is none the less revolutionary because it has been growth, and hence unconscious; a change from a government of self-governing individuals into a self-governing community. We have learned that the interest of the whole is more than the sum of the interests of all the individuals; and that the interests of all individuals can be secured only by their common recognition of the interest of the whole. Some of the changes which have taken place in my own lifetime may serve to illustrate this peaceful revolution.

The private penny posts which were once operated in some of our great cities exist no longer; all epistolary communication between the members of this great community are conveyed for them by their Federal Government. The banking, which was at first a purely private enterprise, is a purely private enterprise no longer; as one great financier once said to me, "the United States is the greatest banking concern in the world;" and all so-called private banks are so brought into affiliation with the United States Government and under its regulation and control that the whole banking system possesses a real, though not a strictly organic, unity. Our highways, because of the invention of steam and railways, are no longer open highways on which each man is free to travel when and as he will, but are great enterprises carried on by combinations between labor and capital, and now under Government control, which, there is reason to believe, will make sure that their operation shall be for the equal benefit of the entire community. The public school system has not only extended over the whole Nation, as it did not at first, but has undertaken all forms of education from the kindergarten to the university, and is accompanied by public libraries in practically all centers of population. The public health is seen to be something more than the health of individuals, or, at least, it is seen that the health of individuals cannot be secured by individualistic enterprise. We have, therefore, Health Boards, beginning in our great cities, extending throughout our States, and now, unless I am greatly mistaken, soon to be organized in a bureau of the Federal Government, for the purpose of compelling obedience to sanitary law and stamping out epidemics. Even our amusements and recreations are made a public concern, and in our cities, towns, and even smaller villages park sare provided, playgrounds for the children, and bands of music for the summer evenings. In some cases these are provided by political organizations, in others by voluntary organization, but in either case by a common and co-operative effort.

These changes have been accompanied by another change. The increasing complexity of modern civilization forces upon us, whether we will or no, an increasing complexity in our government. The prime function of government is to protect persons and property, and the four fundamental rights of persons and property have never been better defined than in the four moral laws of the Ten Commandments: Thou shalt not kill, thou shalt not commit adultery, thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not bear false witness. The enforcement of these laws in a modern community with the heterogeneous population which America contains means something very different from the enforcement of these laws in the wilderness, where they were first proclaimed.

The law, Thou shalt not kill, means not only adequate protection of the individual from the assassin or the mob, and of the free laborer from the pistol, the dynamite, or the savage blow of the striking laborer or his ally; it means supervision by the Government of our food supplies to prevent adulterations perilous to health;

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protection of the life of little children from the greed which sends them into life-destroying industries; protection of the wives and mothers from insistent demands of industry which destroy their motherhood and rob their children and their husbands of their care and companionship; from the peril to life involved in tenement-house sweat-shops; from the corrupting of our water supply by turning our rivers into open sewers; from the carelessness of railway management, which in one year destroyed more lives in America than were destroyed in the Russian army by the Battle of Mukden, the greatest battle of modern times; and from the reckless driving of automobiles, of whose death-list there is no census. Malice slays our hundreds, greed our thousands, carelessness our tens of thousands. It is the duty of a competent and efficient government to save life from all three of these assassins.

The law, Thou shalt not commit adultery, is not adequately enforced by setting husband or wife free from the marital relation when its law is violated. What havoc in human health, what evils inflicted upon innocent women and children, are due to the violation of this law physicians have long known, and the public is beginning to know. Monsters in human form, such as the grotesque fancies of a Dickens or a Shakespeare creating a Quilp or a Caliban have never equaled, exist in American society, carrying on a white slave trade so horrible in its details that reputable men and women have been unable to believe that it could be true. Nor will our Government, Federal or State, have fulfilled its duty in the enforcement of this primitive legislation, Thou shalt not commit adultery, until our legislators realize, as they have not in the past, how openly it is violated and how great is the almost epidemic evil which such violations inflict upon the Nation.

Thou shalt not steal, means thou shalt not take from thy neighbor without giving him a just equivalent; it means protection of the ignorant from the wiles of the professional gambler; protection of the innocent and helpless stockholder from the chicanery of the stock gambler; protection of the insured and of the bank depositor from the tricks and devices of the dishonest financier; protection of the owners from the schemes of the railway wrecker; and the protection of the public interest in the public property from the shrewd devices of men who are eager to acquire wealth without the labor of producing it.

The law, Thou shalt not bear false witness, means prosecution and punishment of the press which violates this law, whether it does so with malicious intent or from mere careless money-making greed. The freedom of the press no more means freedom to do what one likes with his pen than freedom of action means that one may do what he likes with his hand. If I put my hand into my neighbor's pocket and abstract his purse, I am presently carried off to the police station, because I have violated my neighbor's right of property; if I use my pen to vilify my neighbor, or, with absolute carelessness of his rights and my obligations, print untrue and sensational gossip about him, I ought to go into the same prison-house and occupy the same cell with him who has robbed his neighbor of his purse. A newspaper has no more right to despoil one of his reputation than a thief has a right to despoil one of his property. The robber of reputation is the more despicable criminal of the two. Freedom of the press means that the newspaper may print what it will without submitting beforehand its matter to a governmental censor. It does not mean that it may print what it will without being responsible afterwards for its falsehoods if it prints what is not true.

Thus in two ways the function of government has greatly increased within the last century. It has increased because the elementary rights of men are more complex in our complex civilization, and the laws for their protection must therefore be more complex. It has also increased because we have discovered that many of our fundamental rights, such as our right to go from one part to another of our Republic, our right to be preserved from the contagious disease of a careless neighbor, our right to have our children protected from the corrupting influence of seductive vice, our right to have them given such education as will give them a fair opportunity for a useful and happy life, can be protected only by competent

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and co-operative action through government. Both causes have contributed to our growing realization of the truth that a self-governing community is something very different from a community of self-governing individuals.

Many in our times look with apprehension upon this rapid extension of the function and powers of government. We are departing, they say, from the traditions of our fathers; and they are right. We are compelled to depart from the traditions of our fathers. They traveled in stage-coaches, we travel in Pullman cars; they communicated by mail, we increasingly communicate by telegraph and telephone; they used coin as a medium of exchange, or bank bills at their own risk, we use bank bills without any risk; they suffered from devastating epidemics, we are protecting ourselves from devastating epidemics by governmental regulation; they burned candles or whale oil, we illuminate our houses by kerosene or electricity; they had few books and poor schools, we have excellent schools and public libraries. Life in the twentieth century is very different from life in the eighteenth; government in the twentieth century must be very different from government in the eighteenth. It must be either more extensive in its function and operation, or far less effective in its protection of human rights and its enforcement of human duties.

The notion that a complex and extended government is inconsistent with freedom grows out of the notion that freedom is exemption from law; that liberty and independence are synonymous. But freedom and independence are not synonymous, and freedom is not exemption from law. Leonard Bacon, in his "Pilgrim Hymn," thus describes the cargo the Pilgrims brought with them:

"Laws, freedom, truth, and faith in God
Came with these exiles o'er the waves."

Laws! Freedom! Can these live in the same ship? Can these flourish in the same community? What do we mean by law?

Austin, the famous writer on English law, has defined law as the edict of a superior who has the power to enforce his will by penalty, a power which confers on him his authority, and creates in the subject a duty or obligation of obedience.[1]

It is true that power to enforce law is necessary to law; but more is necessary; the possession of power does not of itself confer authority or create duty. Authority is rightful or just power, and something more than the mere possession of power is necessary to give the possessor a right to command or create in the subject a duty of obedience. If the law is an unjust law, disobedience may become duty. King Darius had power to enforce by decree his command, but the plain duty of Daniel was to disobey. The Italian bandit has power to command his prisoners, but he has no just authority over them. If law is simply an edict issued by one who has power to enforce obedience by penalty, then law and liberty are inconsistent. The Puritans in their revolt against the Stuarts no less than the French in their revolt against the Bourbons refused such submission. But the Puritans were not a lawless folk; they put an unaccustomed emphasis on the sacredness of law.

I venture to offer my own definition of law, without, however, claiming for it any originality. It is Hebraic in its origin, although it is not formally stated, so far as I recall, in Hebrew literature. But it underlies the conception of law embodied in the Old Testament Scriptures. A striking illustration of it is afforded by the Nineteenth Psalm, which many Biblical scholars regard as two different psalms put together by some editor.[2] I hesitate to dissent from them,

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[1] "A command is an order issued by a superior to an inferior. It is a signification of desire distinguished by this peculiarity, that the 'party to whom it is directed is liable to evil from the other, in case he comply not with the desire.' 'If you are able and willing to harm me in case I comply not with your wish, the expression of your wish amounts to a command.' Being liable to evil in case I comply not with the wish which you signify, I am *bound* or obliged by it, or I lie under a *duty* to obey it. The evil is called a *sanction*, and the command or duty is said to be *sanctioned* by the chance of incurring the evil. The three terms *command*, *duty*, and *sanction* are thus inseparably connected. As Austin expresses it in the language of formal logic, 'each of the three terms signifies the same notion, but each *denotes* a different part of that notion, and *connotes* the residue.'"—Encyclopædia Britannica, Vol. XIV, p. 356.

[2] Charles Augustus Briggs, L.L.D., "Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Psalms," Vol. I, p. 162. "Psalm 19 is composed of two originally separate poems: (*a*) a morning hymn, praising the glory of 'El in the heavens (v. 2–5b) and glorious movements of the sun (v. 5c–7); (*b*) a didactic poem, describing the excellence of the Law (v. 8–11), with a petition for absolution, restraint from sin, and acceptance in worship (v. 12–15)."

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but in my judgment the psalm is by one poet, who saw what modern thinkers have often failed to see, that law is essentially the same in the physical and in the spiritual world. "The heavens declare the glory of God; and the firmament showeth his handiwork." That is the operation of law in the physical universe. Not less is it true that "the law of the Lord is perfect, restoring the soul: the testimony of the Lord is sure, making wise the simple." That is the operation of law in the spiritual realm.

Law is the nature of the thing of which it is predicated.

By "the law of gravitation" we mean that it is the nature of material objects to attract each other in a certain definite ratio. By "the laws of health" we mean that the nature of the body is such that if one takes certain food, drink, air, baths, exercise, he will enjoy good health; if he does not, he will have disease. By "the moral law" we mean that the social organism is such that if we respect each other's right to person, property, the family, reputation, the community will be prosperous; if we do not, it will be unprosperous. The scientist does not make the law of gravitation; he finds it. The physician does not make the laws of health; he discovers them. Moses did not make the Ten Commandments; he interpreted them. They are not right because Jehovah commanded them; Jehovah commanded them because they are right.

If this be true, if law is the nature of things, the nature of man, the nature of society, the nature of the universe, the nature of God, there is no such thing as freedom from law. To escape from law it would be necessary to escape from the universe, to escape from God, to escape from ourselves. Liberty and lawlessness are not synonymous. Liberty is not escape from law.

Liberty is voluntary obedience to self-enforced law.

It is the understanding of law, obedience to law, the use of law. A man is not free to jump off the roof of a house and fly like a bird. If he attempts it, he will find himself on the ground with a broken leg and not free to walk on the earth. He is free to fly when he understands the laws of aerial navigation and flies in obedience to them. Man is not free to eat and drink as much as his gluttonous desires prompt. If he attempts to do so, he presently finds that he is not free to digest what he has eaten, and must make up for the one day's feast by several days of fasting. Liberty does not mean that the chauffeur may drive his automobile thirty miles an hour through the crowded streets of a city, for then the pedestrian has not liberty to cross the street. Liberty does not mean that the labor union may determine the conditions of work for non-union men, for then the independent laborer is denied liberty to work. Liberty does not mean that life insurance directors may invest their funds as they please, for then the bereaved widow has no liberty to get her money when her husband leaves her in poverty. Liberty does not mean that a railway may charge what it will and give what rebates it chooses, for then the town discriminated against has no liberty to grow and the trader discriminated against has no liberty to trade. Only that community is free which recognizes the sanctity of law—law written in the very nature of human society because in the nature of the men and women who constitute society—and honestly and intelligently endeavors to conform its life to that inherent, immutable, eternal law. Law is written in the very constitution of the universe. Nothing is just law which is not so written. The power of a lawgiver does not make law just, whether that lawgiver be one or many—an aristocracy or a democracy. The consent of the governed does not make it just. Conformity to the nature of life—material and psychical, individual and social—alone makes law just. To discard law, put it aside, live as though it were not, accept it only so far as it accords with our own whims or inclinations, is anarchism. To submit to it only because there is lodged in the lawgiver power to inflict a penalty on the disobedient is submission to despotism. To recognize its sanctity, to see its value, to understand its purpose, to use it for the common welfare, is liberty. For law is the nature of the thing concerning which it is predicated; and liberty is voluntary obedience to self-recognized and self-enforced law.

A man's relation to law may be either

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one of three relations: he may disregard law; he may submit to law; he may use law.

A boy grows up at home, where his health is not cared for; where he eats what he likes, exercises as he likes, sleeps when he likes; in short, is physically lawless. He is taken seriously ill. The doctor finds that he has undermined his constitution, and tells him that if he does not reform his life—eat, sleep, and exercise according to law—he has not long to live. The boy reluctantly abandons his imagined freedom and submits to the laws of health. He comes into the second relation to the law, the relation of submission. His health improves and becomes measurably normal. He goes to college and desires to join the crew. The trainer says to him, If you wish to join the crew, you must accept the conditions of the crew. He tells the boy what he must eat and what he must not eat; what he may drink and what he must not drink; when he must go to bed and what exercise he must take. The boy, ambitious to get on the crew, accepts these directions, loyally and even gladly. He is now not merely submitting to the laws of health, he is using the laws of health in order to equip himself for the position to which his ambition calls him. Disregard of law is suicide, obedience to law is health, use of law is power.

A community which disregards the four fundamental rights of man—the rights of person, of property, of the family, and of reputation—lives in anarchy and perpetual turmoil; the end thereof is social death. A community of individuals who yield obedience to these laws just in so far as they must and no farther may have a certain measure of social health, may at least be preserved from social death. But no community is strong, no community is on the highway to a great and common prosperity, which does not recognize in these laws the conditions of well-being, which does not by its united action promote the health and life of its members, the social purity of its members, the material prosperity of its members, and the reputation and honor of its members. Only such a community is a strong, self-governing community; only such a community is truly free.

Who should exercise governmental powers in such a self-governing community? is a question I shall consider in the next article in this series.

PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF THOMAS B. REED

BY FRANCIS E. LEUPP

THE unveiling of a statue of Thomas Brackett Reed in Portland, Maine, once the city of his home, recalls an incident of our first meeting. It was at a supper given in Washington to Henry Irving in the winter of 1883–4. The company was small, and Irving, who had Garrick's taste for studying physiognomy, had fixed his eyes on one guest and another, but seemed to find most satisfaction in the faces of Thomas F. Bayard and Mr. Reed. Suddenly he inquired of Bayard if any one had ever told him how much he resembled George Washington. Bayard responded with evident pleasure that he had often heard comments on the likeness. Reed, with that inimitable nasal drawl which lent so much pungency to even his most commonplace remarks, said:

"Bayard, after this you'll have to try to live up to the character!"

Before the little wave of amusement called forth by this had fairly got started around the circle, Irving had turned upon Reed with:

"And you, Mr. Reed, might have sat as a model for the Stratford bust of Shakespeare."

Whether the sculptor of the Portland statue has done full justice to the intellectual dome of Reed's head will be one

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of the tests by which his critics will measure the excellence of the work.

Later in the same evening, having moved my seat next to Reed, I drew him into conversation about the slow progress of things in Congress. Glancing across the table at John G. Carlisle, who was then serving his first term as Speaker, he observed: "Carlisle is not naturally ineffective; he is the ablest man they have on that side of the House. But no Speaker could do any better with his hands tied by the rules we are working under, and you will never see them improved by Democrats who regard the privileges of every backwoods member as of more importance than the rights of the whole body or of the people it represents. The people demand that Congress shall not waste an entire session on roll-calls and dilatory motions. They send us here to do business; and if we can't do business with the rules we have, we ought to frame some others which will meet our needs."

There was a prophetic significance in these words which I did not discern till a half-dozen years afterwards, when I saw Reed, standing on the Speaker's platform, strike the desk a ringing blow with his gavel and call the House to order.

No one who was not personally present during that stormy first session of the Fifty-first Congress can have any conception of what it was like. What can be said in exaggeration of the picturesqueness of such a scene as that when, in the earliest days, a single vote might turn the scale for or against the plans of the Speaker, and a bedridden member was actually brought into the House on a litter to have his feeble "aye" recorded, at the risk of his life? Or of another, when a leader of the filibustering opposition stayed in the hall in order to raise the point of "no quorum," and then, when trying to escape from the roll-call, found all the doors locked against him? Or of the case of the Democratic yeoman from Texas who, in a similar situation, kicked open a light lobby door with the toe of his number thirteen boot?

As the correspondent of a newspaper which at the time had little sympathy with Speaker Reed's methods, I made it always a point to go to headquarters with my questions. Far from resenting my often critical attitude, Mr. Reed was usually patience itself in showing me, not only the reasons for specific acts, but the general philosophy underlying his programme. One day, when he had resorted to tactics whose strenuosity was not clearly forecast even by his very radical rules, I called his attention to an instance of striking inconsistency.

"Well, did any one object?" he inquired, making no feint of an excuse.

"The Democrats did," I answered. "They are fuming about it now, and say that they are going to call up the matter again to-morrow and fight it through."

"I hope they will," was his imperturbable comment.

"What will you do?"

"Put it to vote, and prove to them once more the folly of obstruction."

"But where in your rules can you find anything that meets such a situation?"

"We don't need to. There is nothing sacred about conventional forms; a majority vote of the House will be rule enough. The same authority which established the rules is free to modify them at any time."

There never sat in the House another so keen satirist; yet the shafts which flew right and left so recklessly were no more barbed with malice, I believe, than the sparks which fly from the iron when the hammer strikes it. Let his opponents apply the incentive, and the response was automatic. Thus, when Mr. Springer, in the heat of controversy, exclaimed heroically, "Mr. Speaker, I would rather be right than be President!" it was he and not Mr. Reed who was responsible for the instantaneous reply: "The Chair is convinced that the gentleman will never be either." Or, again, when a member who was notorious for his ill-digested opinions and his halting manner of expressing them began some remarks with, "I was thinking, Mr. Speaker—I was thinking—" and stuck fast amid the titters of the House, not a battery of artillery could have repressed Reed's appeal: "The Chair begs that no one will interrupt the gentleman's commendable innovation!"

His definition of a statesman as "a politician who is dead," and his description

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of a particularly wrong-headed, irresponsible, and generally pesky Representative from the woolliest West as "the wild ass's foal of the Scriptures," were equally spontaneous. This inability to control a natural tendency manifested itself also in certain noiseless physical phenomena; for when the fight against him was hottest, and threats were flying about Washington most freely that the next hostile move would be to drag him by violence out of the chair and eject him from the chamber, I repeatedly noticed that he trembled in every muscle of his body. But any one who mistook for cowardice such involuntary revelations of the tumult which was going on underneath a cynical surface-play simply did not know "Tom" Reed. He would have marched up to the mouth of a belching cannon if he had set himself that task, with every fiber of his huge frame in a visible tremor, but without the slightest vibration in his purpose. The fact that he could stand in one place, day after day, calmly looking into the eyes of a horde of angry foes, and refusing to be lured by parliamentary tricks or unparliamentary insults into stepping for one moment aside from the path on which he had started, showed the stern mettle of the man.

Probably the boldest of his Czar-like acts as Speaker occurred in June, 1890, when the so-called Windom Bullion Bill, having been passed by the House in a form which might have proved practicable, was turned by the Senate into an act for the free and unlimited coinage of silver. Even those of us who believed that we knew the strength of the free-coinage sentiment in the Senate were ill prepared for this sweeping measure, and, without waiting for the official announcement of the result of the vote, I hurried over to the House and burst in upon the Speaker with the news. He received it with an air which meant that, though surprised, he saw at once the emergency confronting him.

"What are you going to do about it at this end of the line?" I asked.

"That requires some consideration," he answered, and, seating himself at his desk, gave his mind over to silent thought. A few minutes later he was in consultation with a few of his most trusted party colleagues. That afternoon the bill came from the Senate, but what became of it no member of the opposition could ascertain. The next day the newspapers disclosed the fact that it had been referred to the Committee on Coinage without having been laid before the House. Mr. Bland and other free-coinage advocates were very much incensed, and tried to get hold of the bill to bring it up for action, but it had disappeared. By pure accident I stumbled upon its whereabouts, but held my peace and watched the game, though never losing touch with the Speaker. After the excitement had almost died away, Mr. Reed said to me quietly one day: "The lost bill has been found. So have the absentees." It then came out that the wires had been freely used to call back those members who had been out of town and whose presence would be necessary to make up a majority to sustain the Chair and the honest money cause. That afternoon the bill emerged from its hiding-place and was disposed of, and the conference between the two houses which followed bore fruit in the Sherman compromise.

The point of the incident lies in the fact that the Speaker was taking no chances on so important a matter. If the bill had come before the House at any earlier stage, the motion to disagree with the Senate's substitute and request a conference would have been voted down, and the bill must almost inevitably have gone to the President. Though a veto might, and doubtless would, follow, the Speaker thought that the best way to avoid burnt fingers was not to play with fire.

That Mr. Reed had hopes at one time of becoming President was no secret. The professional President-makers of that day, however, passed him over in their calculations because he was opposed to pretty nearly everything they wanted, had an unpleasantly trenchant mode of saying so, and too commonly managed to have his own way. Our only quarrel during an acquaintance of nearly twenty years grew out of my insisting upon his asserting himself publicly, in his good old fashion, at a crisis in political affairs which would have given him his one chance against the then swelling McKinley tide. He afterward indirectly admitted that he

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had made a mistake. Had he become President we might have had, in spite of his deprecation of it, a war with Spain, but we should probably not have annexed either Hawaii or the Philippines. His opinion of our new policy of territorial expansion was characteristically epitomized in his answer to an acquaintance who was about to make a trip around the world, and wished to visit all the new American colonies, but was uncertain whether to take the westward or the eastward route.

"Well," drawled Reed, "if you travel westward you'll reach the Philippines by way of Hawaii, and if you travel eastward you'll reach Hawaii by way of the Philippines. The whole question is whether you prefer to take your plague before your leprosy, or take your leprosy before your plague."

Though differing widely in their views on many phases of public policy, there existed between Mr. Reed and Theodore Roosevelt a most friendly feeling. Each respected and admired the other, though Reed had little active sympathy with the Roosevelt brand of Civil Service Reform, and still less with the Roosevelt creed regarding war. I think he looked upon these phenomena as mere youthful ebullitions which would disappear with the advance of maturity; but even then he could not be induced to admit that the future held any brilliant promise for his young friend in public life. One evening in the winter of 1892–3, over a beefsteak in Wormley's old restaurant, we fell to discussing Roosevelt.

"You will see more in him when he becomes President," said I.

Reed's expression of face, as he studied mine to assure himself that I was not jesting, was a mixture of sarcasm and pity. I expected a cutting epigram in response, but he evidently wished to let me down easily by giving my feeble mind a tonic idea to work upon.

"Theodore will never be President," he answered; "he has no political background."

Casual additions to this verdict showed that what he had in mind was the need, on the part of a candidate for the Presidency, of a certain record of apprenticeship at the trade of party politics, some experience in management, and a personal following which could be measured in terms of quantity.

Ten years later, when Roosevelt had been more than a twelvemonth in the White House, I reminded Reed of our debate at Wormley's.

"I remember it," he answered, "and I have not changed my position. Roosevelt was not elected President. The supreme test comes when a man submits himself to the whole people for a four years' engagement. No Vice-President succeeding to the Presidency as Roosevelt did has ever yet been invited to stay on for a term in his own right."

"And you don't believe he will be?" I persisted.

Reed hesitated, as if he were about to say something decisive. Then apparently he changed his mind, and dismissed the subject with a smiling truism:

"Oh, a good many things might happen in two years."

That was our last interview. He had quitted Congress the year after the war with Spain, and settled in New York, "to go to work," as he expressed it, "and earn something for the rainy day." I had met him occasionally in the interval when his business brought him to Washington, and had noted a change coming over him both in weight of body and seriousness of mind. He was like an actor who had spent the best of a lifetime in the glare of the footlights and the din of popular comment, and, after passing the age of highest elasticity, was trying to accommodate himself to the less colorful conditions of private society.

It was only a few evenings afterward that the Gridiron Club held the first of its dinners for that season. A goodly part of the guest-list was made up of Congressmen who had come back from their districts flushed with success or sobered by failure at the fall elections. We had sent a special invitation to Mr. Reed, who had always been a well-loved partaker in our festivities, and we had expected to make him stand up and tell us something about the prose and poetry of retirement. He was staying at the hotel where the dinner was given, but sent his regrets under stress of illness. Word reached us in the midst of our merrymaking that his case

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had been pronounced hopeless, and that death was liable to occur at any time. A little later came another message from the sickroom: the end was at hand.

In a few words, which he could hardly command his voice to speak, the presiding officer made the sad announcement to the club. The whole company of two hundred rose at once to their feet, and stood silently and with bowed heads, while Representative Cannon, who was destined to rival Reed's length of service in the Speaker's chair, paid to the soul that was passing the most heartfelt and eloquent tribute that ever fell from his lips. When, immediately thereafter, the dinner closed with its familiar song, there were few dry eyes in the hall.

A DAWN EXPERIMENT

BY ELISABETH WOODBRIDGE

I HAVE tried dawn-fishing, and found it wanting. I have tried dawn-hunting in the woods, after "partridges," and found it not all that Jonathan, in his buoyant enthusiasm, appears to think it. And so, when he grew eloquent regarding the delights of dawn-hunting on the marshes, I was not easily fired. I even referred, though very considerately, to some of our previous experiences in affairs of this nature, and confessed a certain reluctance to experiment further along these lines.

"Well, you have had a run of hard luck," he admitted, tolerantly, "but you'll find the plover-shooting different. I know you won't be sorry."

I do not mean to be narrow or prejudiced, and so I consented, though rather hesitatingly, to try one more dawn adventure.

We packed up our guns, ammunition, extra wraps, rubber boots, and alarm clock. These five things are essential—nay, six are necessary to real content, and the sixth is a bottle of tar and sweet oil. But of that more anon.

Thus equipped, we went down to a tiny cottage on the shore. We reached the village at dusk, stopped at "the store" to buy bread and butter and fruit, then went on to the little white house that we knew would always be ready to receive us. It has served us as a hunting-lodge many times before, and has always treated us well.

There is something very pleasant about going back to a well-known place of this sort. It offers the joy of home and the joy of camping, the charm of strangeness and the charm of familiarity. We light the candles and look about. Ah, yes! There are the magazines we left last winter when we came down for the duck-shooting, there is the bottle of ink we got to fill our pens one stormy day last spring in the trout season, when the downpour quenched the zeal even of Jonathan. In the pantry are the jars of sugar and salt and cereals and tea and coffee and bacon; in the kitchen are the oil stoves ready to light; in the dining-room are the ashes of our last fire.

Contentedly I set about making tea and arranging the supper-table, while Jonathan took a basket and pitcher and went off to a neighbor for eggs and milk. We made a fire on the hearth, toasted bread over the embers, and supped frugally but very cozily.

Afterwards came the setting of the alarm clock—a matter of critical importance.

"What hour shall it be?" inquired Jonathan, his finger on the regulator.

"Whenever you think best," I answered cheerfully. Now, as we both understood, I had no real intention of being literally guided by what Jonathan thought best—that would have been too rash—but it opened negotiations pleasantly to say so.

Jonathan, trying to be obliging against his better judgment, suggested, "Well—six o'clock?" But I refused any such tremendous concession, knowing that I should have to bear the ignominy of it if

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the adventure proved unfortunate. "No, of course not. Six is much too late. Anybody can get up at six."

"Well, then," he brightened, "say five?"

"Five," I meditated. "No, it's quite light at five. We ought to be out there at daylight, you said."

Jonathan visibly expanded. He realized that I was behaving very well. I thought so myself, and it made us both very amiable.

"Yes," he admitted, "we ought to be, of course. And it will take three-quarters of an hour to drive out there. Add fifteen minutes to that for breakfast, and fifteen minutes to dress—would a quarter to four be too outrageous?"

"Oh, make it half-past three," I rejoined recklessly, in a burst of self-sacrifice. At least I would not spoke our wheels by slothfulness. The clock was set accordingly, and I went to sleep enveloped in virtue as in a garment, the sound of the sea in my ears.

Br-r-r-r-r-r-r-r! What *has* happened? Oh, the alarm clock! But there must be some mistake. It can't be more than twelve o'clock. I hear the spit of a match, then "Half-past three," from Jonathan. "No!" I protest. "Yes," he persists, and though his voice is still veiled in sleep, I detect in it a firmness to which I foresee I shall yield. My virtue of last night has faded completely, but his zeal is fast colors. I am ready to back out, but, dimly remembering my Spartan attitude of the night before, I don't dare. Thus are we enslaved by our virtues. I submit, with only one word of comment—"And we call this pleasure!" To which Jonathan wisely makes no response.

We groped our way downstairs, lighted another candle, and sleepily devoured some sandwiches and milk—a necessary but cheerless process, with all the coziness of the night before conspicuously left out. We heard the carriage being brought up outside, we snatched up our wraps—sweaters, shawls, coats—Jonathan picked up the valise with the hunting equipment, we blew out the candles, and went out into the chilly darkness. As our eyes became accustomed to the change, we perceived that the sky was not quite black, but gray, and that the stars were fewer than in the real night. We got in, tucked ourselves up snugly, and started off down the road stretching faintly before us. The horse's steps sounded very loud, and echoed curiously against the silent houses as we passed. As we went on the sky grew paler, here and there in the houses a candle gleamed, in the barnyards a lantern flashed—the farmer was astir. Yes, dawn was really coming.

After a few miles we turned off the main highway to take the rut road through the great marsh. The smell of the salt flats was about us, and the sound of the sea was growing more clear again. A big bird whirred off from the marsh close beside us. "Meadow-lark," murmured Jonathan. Another little one, with silent, low flight, then more. "Sandpipers," he commented; "we don't want them." The patient horse plodded along, now in damp marsh soil, now in dry, deep sand, to the hitching-place by an old barn on the cliff.

As we pulled up, Jonathan took a little bottle out of his pocket and handed it to me. "Better put it on now," he said. "What is it?" I asked. "Tar and sweet oil—for the mosquitoes." I smelled of it with suspicion. It was a dark, gummy liquid. "I think I prefer the mosquitoes."

"You do!" said Jonathan. "You'll think again pretty soon. Here, let me have it." He had tied the horse and blanketed him, and now proceeded to smear himself with the stuff—face, neck, hands. "You needn't look at me that way!" he remarked genially; "you'll be doing it yourself soon. Just wait."

We took our guns and cartridges, and plunged down from the cliff to the marsh. As we did so there rose about me a brown cloud, which in a moment I realized was composed of mosquitoes—a crazy, savage, bloodthirsty mob. They beset me on all sides—they were in my hair, my eyes, nose, ears, mouth, neck. I brushed frantically at them, but a drowning man might as well try to brush back the water as it closes in. "Where's the bottle?" I gasped.

"What bottle?" said Jonathan, innocently. Jonathan is human.

"The tar and sweet oil. Quick!"

"Oh! I thought you preferred the mosquitoes." Yes, Jonathan *is* human.

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"Never mind what you *thought!*" and I snatched greedily at the blessed little bottle. I poured the horrid stuff on my face, my neck, my hands, I out-Jonathaned Jonathan; then I took a deep breath of relief as the mosquito mob withdrew to a respectful distance. Jonathan reached for the bottle.

"Oh, I can just as well carry it," I said, and tucked it into one of my hunting-coat pockets. Jonathan chuckled gently, but I did not care. Nothing should part me from that little bottle of ill-smelling stuff.

We started on again, out across the marsh. Enough light had come to show us the gray-green level, full of mists and little glimmers of water, and dotted with low haycocks, their dull, tawny yellow showing softly in the faint dawn light.

"Hark!" said Jonathan. We paused. Through the fog came a faint, whistling call, in descending half-tones, indescribable, coming out of nowhere, sounding now close beside us, now very far away.

"Yellowlegs," said Jonathan. "We aren't a bit too soon."

We pushed out into the midst of the marsh, now sinking knee-deep in the spongy bed, now walking easily on a stretch of firm turf, now stepping carefully over a boundary ditch of unknown depth—out to the haycocks, where we sank down, each beside one, to wait for the birds to move.

I do not know how long we waited. The haycock was warm, the night wind had fallen, the gray sky was turning white, with primrose tones in the east; the morning star paled and disappeared; the marsh mists partly lifted, and revealed far inland the soft, dark masses of encircling woods. And every little while came the whistling call, plaintive, yet curiously hurried, coming from nowhere. I lay back against the hay, and, contrary to orders, I let my gun slip down beside me. The fact was, I had half forgotten that anything definite was expected of me, and when suddenly I heard a warning "Look out!" from Jonathan's mow, I was in no way prepared. There was a rush of wings; the air was full of the whistling notes of the birds as they flew; they passed over us, circling, rising, sinking, sweeping far up the marsh, then, as Jonathan whistled their call, circling back again out of the mist at incredible speed.

Probably it would have made no difference if I had been prepared. A new kind of game always leaves me dazed, and now I watched them, spellbound, until I heard Jonathan shoot. Then I made a great effort, pulled at my trigger, and rolled backwards from my haycock into the spongy swamp, inches deep with water just there. Jonathan called across softly, "Shot both barrels, didn't you?" I rose slowly, wishing there were some way of wringing out my entire back. "Of course not!" I gasped indignantly.

"Think not?" very benevolently from the other cock. "'Twouldn't have kicked like that if you hadn't. Look at your gun and see." I reseated myself damply upon the haycock. "I tell you I *didn't*. Why should I shoot both at once, I'd like to know! I never—" Here I stopped, for as I broke open my gun I saw two dented cartridges, and as I pulled them out white smoke rolled from both barrels. There seemed nothing further to be said, at least by a woman, so I said nothing. Jonathan also, though human, said nothing. It is crises like these that test character. I turned my cool back to the east, that the rising sun, if it ever really got thoroughly risen, might warm it, and grimly reloaded. Jonathan continued his call to the birds, and when they returned again I behaved better.

By seven o'clock the birds had scattered, and we left our places to go back to the horse. On the way we encountered two hunters wandering rather disconsolately over the marsh. They stopped us to ask what luck, and we tried not to look too self-satisfied, but probably they read our success in our arrogant faces, streaked with tar and sweet oil as they were. Possibly the bulge of our hunting-coat pockets helped to tell the story. "How long have you been out here?" they asked enviously. "Two hours or so," said Jonathan. "How'd you get out so early?" "We got up early," said Jonathan, with admirable simplicity. The strangers looked at him twice to see if he meant to jeer, but he appeared impenetrably innocent, and they finally laughed, a little ruefully, and went on out into the marsh we were just leaving. Why does

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it make one feel so immeasurably superior to get up a few hours before other people?

We drove home along the sunny road, where the bakers' carts and meat wagons were already astir. Could it be the same road that a few hours before had been so cold and gray and still? Were these bare white houses the same that had nestled so cozily into the dark of the roadside? We reached our own plain little white house and went in. In the dining-room our candles and the remains of our midnight breakfast on the table seemed like relics of some previous state of existence. Sleepily I set things in order for a real breakfast, a hot breakfast, a breakfast that should be cozy. Drowsily we ate, but contentedly. Everything since the night before seemed like a dream.

It still seems so. But of all the dream the most vivid part—more vivid even than the alarm clock, more real than my tumble into wetness—is the vision that remains with me of mist-swept marsh, all gray and green and yellow, with tawny haycocks and glimmerings of water and whirrings of wings and whistling bird-notes and the salt smell of the sea.

Yes, Jonathan was right. Dawn-hunting on the marshes is different, quite different.

THE NEW BOOKS

"The Way Up," by Mrs. M. B. Willcocks, will maintain the reputation gained by her earlier novel, "Wingless Victory." It deals with large questions of social development, and it also brings before the reader men and women who are alive and individual. The main situation is the drawing apart of husband and wife who love one another but are absolutely opposite in purpose and views of life—the man is bound to make his contribution toward solving the labor problem by founding a great factory which shall be owned in whole or in part by the workmen, and all his energy of mind and body is absorbed in his work; the wife is artistic, brilliant, instinct with love for admiration and society. In the end the woman goes on the stage, and not even the death of their son in early manhood can bring the two together. There are faults of taste and judgment in dealing with this situation, and it is also true that the book is deficient in fiction-art in that it is prolonged and lumbering in action. But the ability shown is great enough to make the reader overlook such defects and to place the story distinctly above the average of recent fiction. (John Lane, New York. $1.50.)

Mr. Charles Marriott's "The Column" attracted attention and praise by its breadth of treatment and original force. His new story, "Now," has rather more of charm, but less definiteness. A loosely associated group of people who are called Morrisonians, after their leader, enter into a cheerful compact to protest against the wrongs of the present social order in a negative sort of way, by no austerity or violent propaganda, but by quietly ignoring and abstaining from that which is conventional and selfish, by eschewing that which is not simple and natural, by living their own lives free from humbug and from worldly pressure. Thus, they think, they will overpower with a sort of common-sense idealism the social element which is grasping, oppressive, selfish. All this is vague and does not sound very promising as the background of a novel, but there are some extremely interesting men and women here, not the least so being the stolid and honest Philistine Brown; and talk and incidents are both set forth in an engaging manner. (The John Lane Company, New York. $1.50.)

Joseph C. Lincoln's stories are harmless and jovial, and they have original turns and odd happenings. "The Depot Master" has been built out of and round about two or three good short stories, and accordingly the construction of the book, as a whole, is clumsy. But the incidents are remarkable, and the characters have life and the twinkle of fun. (D. Appleton & Co., New York. $1.50.)

We do not recall any book, either history or fiction, which gives the atmosphere of what Signor Ferrero has well called Roman Puritanism, more effectively than "Marius the Epicurean," by Walter Pater. It gives an admirable picture of the best life and aspirations in the older and purer religion of Rome, as "Quo Vadis" gives a graphic picture of the sensuality and cruelty of the Roman Empire in the first and second centuries. Probably the one book over-accentuates the good, as the other over-accentuates the evil. Walter Pater is pre-eminently an artist with the pen. His thoughts are always artistically robed. So artistic an author ought always to be read from an artistically printed edition. The new edition of his works, to which this volume belongs, is in

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paper and press worthy of the author's style. (The Macmillan Company, New York. $2.)

The seventh volume of the "History for Ready Reference," in its enlarged edition, covers the decade now ending, and is therefore of special value to readers in quest of up-to-date and accurate information. It has been judiciously remarked that the history of our own time is the part of history of which many who are well read in the history of former times—not to speak of others—are most liable to be imperfectly informed. The world has been making history fast in this period of transition, and the history made in the past ten years exhibits pregnant movements, evolutionary and revolutionary, that touch all the phases and interests of life. The text of this record of it presents a literature of history drawn from the best writers and special students. It exhibits the year-by-year historical evolution of change and progress. All the great social problems now in process of solution are here presented in their gradual advancement from stage to stage, such as the trust problem, the railway problem, the municipal government problem, the various race problems, with texts of laws, judicial decisions, notable agreements and incidents. Science and invention, education, public health, war both as prepared for and as protested against, Dreadnoughts and Hague Conferences, appear among other salient subjects. A record of disturbance and conflict in national and international affairs has to do with Russia and Japan, the awakening of China, the revolutions in Turkey and Persia, the unrest in India, the friction of class interests in England, the separation of Church and State in France, etc. No stronger appeal to living interests than is here found is made by any portion of the long record of human life and struggle. Fifty-five courses of study in history, ancient, mediæval, and modern, with good bibliographies, form a valuable appendix to the seven volumes. The editor is Mr. J. N. Larned. (The C. A. Nichols Company, Springfield, Massachusetts.)

Two recent books about Theodore Roosevelt are interesting for unlike reasons. One, called simply "Theodore Roosevelt," and published by Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton, of London, consists of a reprint of articles from the pen of Mr. Sydney Brooks, who is known both in England and America as an acute and thoughtful commentator on current political and social affairs. These papers originally appeared in the London "Chronicle." They take up the more important divisions of Mr. Roosevelt's public career, not with historic elaboration or detail, but with a fair-minded intention to make clear underlying purposes and personal traits, mental and moral. Mr. Brooks's final characterization, after pointing out such blemishes as "gratuitous brusqueness" and "combativeness," says: "But these are trivial blemishes on a character so clean, just, straightforward, and exuberant as his, so rare a union of practicality with enthusiasm, so quick an eye for the essential thing, so much broad-gauged, infectious, supremely virile humanity as he possesses, so inspiriting an example as he has set of courage, intensity, and common sense." The other volume, called "The Real Roosevelt," is a compilation of extracts from Mr. Roosevelt's writings and speeches. The compiler, Alan Warner, states that the proof has been revised by Mr. Roosevelt. The endeavor is to give a large variety of important utterances in a compact form. The arrangement and indexing are admirable. In an introduction Dr. Lyman Abbott says: "For an understanding of the political or ethical ideals of such a man one must read his completer utterances. But for a more intimate acquaintance with the man himself, one desires correspondence, conversation, or, in lieu of these, such fragmentary utterances as have been here brought together by one who understands and admires him." (G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $1.)

The eighth volume of the Catholic Encyclopædia contains a number of articles which arrest attention. Chief among these is the essentially apologetic article on the Inquisition. The case seems abandoned by the admission at the outset that, until the union of Church and State in the fourth century, the great teachers of the Church insisted on complete religious liberty, which did not lack some advocates for four centuries more. But by the thirteenth century its repression became "a political necessity." The evils of the Inquisition are minimized, and largely charged to the rude temper of the times—for the savagery of which the Church can, in fairness, not be held irresponsible. Mr. H. C. Lea's classic work on the Inquisition is criticised for unfairness, but it will not suffer in comparison with the apology presented in this article. The three pages given to Know-nothingism, the proscriptive political movement directed especially against American Catholics in 1851–1858, has a special interest for fair-minded non-Catholics, with its history of the political disabilities that have now been removed. Among other and highly valuable articles those which give nearly seventy pages to Ireland and the Irish, and to Italy forty-six pages, with maps and numerous illustrations, are specially attractive. The immovable conservatism of Catholic scholars on points of Biblical criticism appears in their insistence upon the single authorship of the book of Isaiah, and the strictly historical character of the book of Jonah, despite the verdict to the, contrary given by the rest of the learned world. (Robert Appleton, New York. $6.)

We may now place another book alongside Mrs. van Rensselaer's work on the English cathedrals—Helen Marshall Pratt's "The Cathedral Churches of England." The present volume is noteworthy for four reasons. In the first place, the author wisely separates the thirty-two cathedrals

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into clearly defined classes, the old, new, and modern foundations. In the second place, she corrects some prevailing prejudices. Take that concerning a cathedral church. When we use that term we think of size. Yet a cathedral church is not necessarily large; it is simply a church containing the *cathedra*, or bishop's chair. Then there is the prevailing misconception as to a bishop's authority. We may see him enthroned in his cathedral and think him master there. In his diocese outside he is, but not in the cathedral. There the dean and chapter rule. The present volume is notable in the third place because the author does more than merely explain styles in architecture and stained glass, more than merely describe the antiquities of each cathedral; in the telling of the story of each building she gives much interesting information concerning the bishops, deans, abbots, priors, canons, kings and queens, lords and ladies, and others of those the history of whose lives is interwoven with that of this or that cathedral fabric. Finally, the volume is notable because of its ample glossary and bibliography. In these aids to understanding, as in the text, there seems provision for any necessary query, but at the same time an absence of mere "padding." The fruit of the author's years of study, as the seeker for knowledge will doubtless note, is arranged in concise as well as in convenient form. We would make one suggestion, however. For the benefit of the intending tourist there might well be a pocket edition in slightly smaller type, unillustrated, printed on thin paper and bound in flexible covers. (Duffield & Co., New York. $2.50.)

LETTERS TO THE OUTLOOK

WHAT'S IN A NAME?

The writer has been much impressed by the articles which have appeared editorially in The Outlook from time to time relative to the great struggle of the people to free themselves from the power of the special interests.

It is a struggle which has become as clearly defined and the issues as clear cut as was the old question of slavery and anti-slavery. Yet Lincoln was elected on a platform, not of abolition, but on a platform pledged to protect slavery where it was, but to permit no further advances. It was a "stand-pat" policy. As subsequent events proved, it was not the policy so much as the individual which made for better things.

We have the issue, then, before the people, but not clearly defined in our party platforms. Both parties are at fault in this respect. In the North the representatives of the special interests are high in the councils of the Republican party. In the South the representatives are high in the councils of the Democratic party.

We find the special interests in National, State, county, and municipal councils clogging reform legislation and trying for special privileges by any and all means, fair or foul. We find jokers inserted in our tariff laws and even in laws relating to the lands of the dependent Indians who are the wards of the Government and to whom we owe the utmost good faith in our dealings.

Why do not the people break away from the parties which misrepresent them and form a new party which does truly represent them?

Here is where we realize and find out the power of a name, and ask, "What's in a name?" The average Democrat will vote the Democratic ticket even though he knows it will not represent him. He feels displeased at the progressive declarations if he is a reactionary, or if he is a progressive he dislikes the reactionary planks, but he votes the ticket just the same. The same is true of the Republican voter. And as long as we have on the fence platforms we will have a misrepresentation of the will of the people.

The writer believes, with Senator Cummins, that the Republican party cannot live half "insurgent" and half "stand pat," and he believes that the same is true of the Democratic party; but as long as the two parties do survive in a condition of half and half, just so long will the special interests thrive and continue to grow and to prey upon the wealth of the people in the same predatory manner as at present.

The writer believes that there is a group of men in the United States to-day who are great enough to unite the progressives of both parties, and to lead the way to victory for the people.

It will require great courage on their part to face the power of "What's in a name?" and in a sense defy it, but they are great men and I feel certain will not hesitate to do the work, sooner or later.

The writer does not think the time is ripe just yet, but it is coming fast, and we should be prepared for it. Perhaps the new party will be named Democratic or Republican as a development from one or the other of the parties coming under the influence of the progressives, but, no matter what its name may be, it will be a new party, and will carry with it the reforms we so earnestly desire, and usher in a new standard of morality in American politics in which the integrity of officials will be their first requisite, and which will, in addition to our other National resources, conserve our American manhood.

F. E. McCURDY.

Bismarck, North Dakota.

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A VIEW OF IOWA INSURGENCY

The views of The Outlook upon the political situation in Iowa, as expressed under the titles "Insurgents Aggressive" and "A Twofold Victory," are very interesting. There are, however, some facts apparently not taken into consideration by The Outlook, but which are plainly evident to any one who knows enough of Iowa politics to judge something of the undercurrents by the surface eddies. Some of them are as follows:

It is not controverted and is not controvertible that Senator Cummins has reached the superlative as a political boss in Iowa.

The Cummins oligarchy is as aggressive in its oligarchical methods as any oligarchy possibly can be.

As any one, be he Stand-pat, Progressive, Insurgent, or Democrat, or of any other party whom an Iowa constituency may honor by an election to the Congress, will undoubtedly represent and work for Iowa interests—that is, the interests of the farms rather than the interests of cotton or woolen mills—the "triumph of the Iowa Insurgents" is significant *only* as a personal triumph of A. B. Cummins. It is a wonderful and astonishing tribute to the personality of a man! There was no moral or ethical principle involved.

It has become the custom for 20,000 or 30,000 to vote the Republican primary ballot and to vote for all or nearly all the Democratic nominees in the fall election. The possible complications that may arise from the condition are perplexing. A personal political acquaintance will convince any one that nearly every Democrat who votes the Republican primary ballot is a Cummins man.

What will be the result of such political miscegenation? It adds to the uncertainties as well as to the interest of the game.

IOWA.

DID JESUS CONDEMN WEALTH?

I

I do not know what Mr. Upton Sinclair's qualifications for criticising your exegesis may be; but will you permit a British reader and admirer of The Outlook to say, in quite a mild way, that you are all at sea in your interpretation of the passage, "Lay not up for yourselves treasures on earth," etc.? The words "where moth and rust doth corrupt" are either (*a*) a qualification, or (*b*) a description, implying a reason for not laying up treasures on earth.

Now, if the words are to be taken as a qualification, your inference is right. They mean that there are places on earth where moth and rust do corrupt, and other places where they don't. But in this case the words "where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt," as applied to heaven in the next clause, must mean that there are places in heaven where moth and rust do not corrupt and other places where they do. On this view there doesn't seem to be much to choose between heaven and earth. Our Lord could hardly have perpetrated so gratuitous a tautology.

RICHARD ROBERTS.

Crouch Hill Presbyterian Church,
London, England.

II

In your issue for July 23 you print a letter from Upton Sinclair entitled "The Ethics of Jesus," and in your commentary on the same you indicate that Sinclair is a fool. Sinclair's letter is certainly very bitter, when the subject is considered, but why should Dr. Lyman Abbott, or any one else, endeavor to blink when the plain facts in the case are presented to him? We were favored at one time by a book entitled "If Christ Came to Chicago," by Editor Stead, of the "Pall Mall Gazette;" and Christ did come to Chicago. He came in the person of John Alexander Dowie, and he was treated with superlative scorn by the Christian newspapers in that city. Yet Mr. Dowie was not nearly so impractical as Jesus. He built manufactories, and showed some business ability; whereas Jesus was one of those dreamers and philanthropists for whom the world to-day professes to have no use. Jesus, who evidently did no useful work of any kind, preached to the people. He was a king, but his kingdom was not of this earth. If he were to preach like doctrines at this time, he would certainly be regarded as a harmless fanatic; but his claim to be a king at that time was seized upon as a treasonable utterance, and he was cruelly crucified; whereas John Alexander Dowie was allowed to die peacefully "of a broken heart." If any one of us were to give all of his goods to the poor at this date and follow a man like Jesus, what would we think of him? what would we say of him? Would we not class him as crazy? His friends would make haste to have the judge of probate appoint a guardian for him to preserve his property, and rightly so, too.

What, then, is the use of the pretense that we can be, in this age of the world, in any way influenced by the actions or words of that obscure visionary Jesus, who was only one of the long list of martyrs to ignorance and superstition whose stories are told in history? In the year 1910—which is still, by the way, sometimes marked Anno Domino—if a man sets out to accomplish something, he must provide the means beforehand. If he were to trust in any supernatural assistance which he expected would be rendered to him, he would almost certainly fail.

The methods of the large "trusts" and corporations, especially of those in the United States of America, are such as to make every true American proud of his country when they are considered as means for the rapid and efficient despatch of business; but what has Jesus to do with such things?

Detroit, Michigan. JAMES BACON.

[See editorial entitled "Jesus Christ a Life-Giver."—THE EDITORS.]

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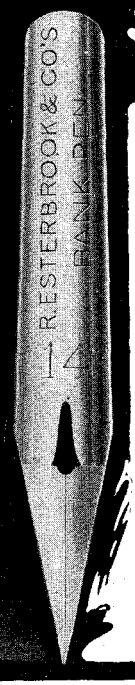

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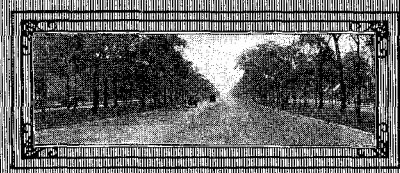

WHEN YOU MOTOR WITH THE
TRUFFAULT-HARTFORD
SHOCK ABSORBER

on your car, inequalities of the road, however pronounced, cease to manifest themselves.

Your car travels along with an easy, wavy motion over the roughest places. There's neither jolt nor jar, neither bouncing nor skidding. You enjoy **solid comfort** under all conditions of travel. Every road becomes a boulevard. Over and above all these advantages, wear and tear are decreased materially. Repair bills, tires bills dwindle to a degree most pleasing.

The Truffault-Hartford Shock Absorber is guaranteed to make good or its purchase price will be refunded. The standard shock absorber of motordom. Used in all important motoring events. Regular equipment on such cars as Packard, Pierce-Arrow, Thomas, Apperson, Stevens-Duryea, American, Studebaker-Garford, Chadwick, etc., etc., etc.

We can fit any car and make any car fit for any road. Write us mentioning make, model and year and we will send you some very interesting particulars about the Truffault-Hartford applied to YOUR car.

HARTFORD SUSPENSION CO., 135 Bay St., JERSEY CITY, N. J.
EDW. V. HARTFORD, President
Branches:
New York: 212-214 88th St. Boston: 319 Columbus Ave.
Philadelphia: 250 N. Broad St. Chicago: 1458 Michigan Ave.

DRESS SHIELDS

WHILE there may be other Dress Shields that are odorless when you buy them, the OMO Shields are the only Dress Shields that are odorless when you WEAR them.

They contain no rubber, are cool, light, white, do not chafe, absolutely moisture proof and washable.

EVERY PAIR WARRANTED

At all good stores, or a sample pair sent for 25c.
Our "Dress Shield Brieflet" sent free.

The OMO Manufacturing Company, Dept. O, Middletown, Conn.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
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Hawes, von Gal HATS

It is now the fashion among smartly dressed men to wear a soft hat during the interval between the dethronement of the straw and the reign of the formal derby.

During the early Autumn weeks more Hawes, von Gal soft hats will be worn than ever before. Ask your dealer for them—or for the Hawes, von Gal derby if you prefer the stiff hat. But whatever the style or price, every Hawes, von Gal Hat is doubly guaranteed. Prices, $3, $4 and $5.

We are Makers of the Hawes Celebrated $3 Hat

If not at your dealer's, write for our new Fall and Winter Style Book "V" We will fill your order direct from the factory if you will indicate style wanted and give your hat size, your height, weight and waist measure. Add 25 cents to cover cost of expressage.

Hawes, von Gal
INCORPORATED

Factories: DANBURY, Connecticut
1178 Broadway, New York
Wholesale Offices: Chicago Boston

HORLICK'S MALTED MILK *Lunch Tablets*

A satisfying, convenient lunch, for travelers, business men and women. Just the thing for the emergency. For children, a wholesome substitute for candy. Have a package handy at home, in your desk, traveling bag or pocket.

☛ ***Ask for "HORLICK'S," Original—Genuine. Druggists. Free Sample. Racine, Wis.***

KEEP a file of The Outlook. It is valuable for reference. A handsome Binder in jade-green cloth, with gilt side stamp, will be sent postpaid on receipt of FORTY CENTS, by The Outlook Company, 287 Fourth Avenue, New York.

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The Outlook Classified Advertising Department

Advertising rates are: Hotels and Resorts, Apartments, Summer Camps, Tours and Travel, Real Estate, Live Stock and Poultry, fifty cents per agate line, three columns to the page. Not less than four lines accepted. In calculating space required for an advertisement, count an average of six words to the line unless display type is desired.

"Want" advertisements, under the various headings, "Board and Rooms," "Help Wanted," etc., ten cents for each word or initial, **including the address, for each insertion.** The first word of each advertisement is set in capital letters without additional charge. Other words may be set in capitals, if desired, at double rates. If answers are to be addressed in care of The Outlook, **twenty-five cents** is charged for the box number named in the advertisement. Replies will be forwarded by us to the advertiser and bill for postage rendered. Special headings appropriate to the department may be arranged for on application.

Orders and copy for Classified Advertisements must be received with remittance ten days before the Saturday on which it is intended the advertisement shall first appear. Address Advertising Department, The Outlook, 287 Fourth Ave., New York City.

European Hotels

ENGLAND

LONDON BOARD RESIDENCE
24 Gordon Street,
Gordon Square, W. C. Full board $7.50 per week or $1.50 per day. Miss GREENE.

ITALY

NAPLES (ITALY). Bertolini's Palace. Open all year. Grand view. Healthy. Eur. Pl. Single from $1.20, Double f. $2. Double bath f. $4 daily. Am. Pl. Autumn & Winter f. $3, Spring f. $4 daily.

Hotel Majestic Late Suisse
ROME
First-class family hotel. Full South. Reduced rates during the summer.
G. PIOTTI, Prop.

European Tours

EUROPE Mrs. Griffiths, experienced abroad, chaperons young ladies. Highest references. The Farragut, Washington, D. C.

ENGLISH TOURS BY AUTOMOBILE

Private cars. Go where you please. Illustrated booklet free by post.
MOTOR TOURING CO.
43 Pembroke Pl., Liverpool, England

ROUND THE WORLD

Thirty-ninth annual series of *Tours de Luxe*. Westbound from San Francisco September 13, 27, 1910; Eastbound from New York November 5, 24, 1910, January 7, 1911. Comprehensive Itineraries. The Best in Travel.

Annual Series of
TOURS TO THE ORIENT
Leave from January to April, 1911.
THOS. COOK & SON
245 Broadway, 264 Fifth Ave., N. Y.
Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, San Francisco, Montreal, Toronto, etc.
Cook's Travellers Cheques are Good All Over the World.

Magnificent S. S. **"Arabic"** leaves Feb. 4; rates **$400** up, including shore excursions; 71 enchanting days. Stop-over privileges. 4 high-class 6 mos. **Round World** Tours Oct., Nov., and Jan. Program ready.
FRANK C. CLARK, Times Bldg., New York.
Clark's Orient Cruise

SMITH'S FOREIGN TOURS
ORIENT, Jan. 14th. EUROPE, June 24th, 1911. "21st Year." Limited parties. Send for booklet. C. H. Smith, 14 State St., Rochester, N.Y.

British Isles Tour.	**$250**
Berlin, Athens, Rome, London	**$400**
Egypt and Palestine.	**$600**
Mexico and Yucatan.	**$400**

S. H. Longley, 314 Main St., Worcester, Mass.

Europe Miss WELDON, unlimited experience abroad, chaperons
Egypt young ladies. Highest references. Murray Hill Hotel, New York.

European Tours

The COLLVER Tours
(The Best in Travel)
SMALL SELECT PARTIES
ROUND THE WORLD
WESTWARD EASTWARD
Sept. 27——Oct. 8—Nov. 5
SOUTHERN HEMISPHERE
Including SOUTH AFRICA, AUSTRALIA, Etc. Oct. 29
For Detailed Information Address
The Collver Tours Company
420 Boylston St., Boston

LADY, with nine years' residence and travel abroad, will chaperon small party for winter tour of five months; sailing October fourth. Address Miss WHITE, 75 St. Paul Street, Brookline, Mass.

Treatment and Travel

Husband age 38 and wife age 32 with simple tastes, graduates of OSTEOPATHIC and MEDICAL schools, offer joint services to party for Europe, Orient or world tour 6 to 12 mo. $50 per mo. and expenses. 9,233, Outlook.

University Prints

2,000 at one cent each. Greek Handbook by Edmund Von Mach, 1 vol., $1.50. Italian *Handbooks*, 2 vols., $1.50 each.
Send two-cent stamp for catalogue.
BUREAU OF UNIVERSITY TRAVEL
20 Trinity Place, Boston

THE ORIENT 1911

EGYPT, PALESTINE, GREECE
Sail in February 1911 and enjoy the ideal season. It is not too early to make preparation. Our plans are ready. Send for announcement. Ask for *Suggested Readings* and *Maps*.
BUREAU OF UNIVERSITY TRAVEL
20 Trinity Place, Boston, Mass.

AROUND THE WORLD
Small parties sailing Sept., Oct., and Nov.
EGYPT and PALESTINE
Sailing Jan. and Feb., 1911
H. W. DUNNING & CO.
101 Congregational House, Boston, Mass.

EGYPT HOLY LAND TURKEY and GREECE
"Tours" for the select few who wish to enjoy a journey of comfort and leisure.
Write for information and booklet.
AMERICO ORIENTAL TOURS
555 W. 160th, New York City.

Tours and Travel

NEW EDITION
Nutshell Boston Guide

Unique. Boston, historical, literary, educational, artistic, musical, civic and philanthropic. Illustrated, with trolley directions, and a map. A pocket encyclopædia for those who are interested in Boston. A traveler says of it, "The Nutshell Boston is the best guide book in America." Sent to any address on receipt of 30 cents in stamps.
NUTSHELL SEEING BOSTON CO.
Box 53, Back Bay P. O., Boston.

Hotels and Resorts

CONNECTICUT

Berkshire Hills Falls Village, Conn.
SALONIC SANATARIUM
For the treatment and cure of incipient tuberculosis. THOMAS I. SHANNON, M.D.

Crest View Sanatorium
Greenwich, Ct.—First-class in all respects; home comforts. H. M. HITCHCOCK, M.D.

Berkshire Hills Interlaken Inn, Lakeville, Conn.
Two hours from New York; between two lakes; service first-class; accommodation for automobile parties. Address Manager.

Dr. Givens' Sanitarium
For NERVOUS and mild MENTAL diseases. Has separate cottages for ALCOHOL and DRUG patients.
Address DR. GIVENS, Stamford, Conn.

MAINE

The Homestead, Bailey Island, Me.
SEPTEMBER—the incomparable month — mellow days, clear, crisp air, evenings by the open fire. The Homestead will receive guests until October first. Booklet. T. E. HAZELL.

DOME-OF-THE-ROCK
CASTINE, MAINE
Cottage life with central dining-room among the balsam firs on the cliffs of Penobscot Bay. Golf, tennis, sailing, canoeing, and bathing. Fine drives. Accommodations for 100 guests. Illustrated circulars.

THE BEECHES, Paris Hill, Me.
Altitude 900 ft. Sanitarium for semi-invalids.
CHARLOTTE F. HAMMOND, M.D.

A Nice Quiet Place to Board
in the fall and winter. Near the sea. Steam heat. Home cooking. 9,257, Outlook.

MASSACHUSETTS

THE HARBOR VIEW
East Gloucester, Mass.
Situated directly on Gloucester Bay. Piazza 400 feet long. Private telephone exchange connecting rooms. Tennis court. Table a special feature. Booklet. W. F. OSBORNE.

HARKENDON
WEST NEWTON, MASS.
For nervous and chronic diseases. No insane.
W. C. CANFIELD, M.D.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Lakeside House On Lake Sunapee
Booklet. GEO. S. PRESCOTT, New London, N. H.

Hillside Inn, White Mountains, N.H. Greatly enlarged, rates moderate. All popular amusements. Finest mountain drives. Ill. booklet. L. T. CLAWSON, Prop., Bethlehem, N. H.

MOAT MOUNTAIN HOUSE
and Spencer Cottage, North Conway, White Mountains, N. H. T. C. EASTMAN, Prop. Special rates September. Circular.

NEW JERSEY

Beautiful SUMMIT, N. J. Rooms to rent, with board, for fall and winter. Private boarding house, select neighborhood Convenient to station. 155 Summit Ave.

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Hotels and Resorts

NEW JERSEY

"The salt breath of the sea brings health"

GALEN HALL
HOTEL AND SANATORIUM
ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY
An ideal place for a long or short stay. Stone, brick and steel building. Rooms en suite with hot and cold sea water in private baths. Over 70 forms of Tonic and Curative Baths and Treatments with trained attendants. Sea Water used in all Hydriatic Treatments.
N. Y. Office, 1122 Broadway.
F. L. YOUNG, Gen'l Manager.

AUTUMN
IN THE
PINES OF NEW JERSEY
Pine Tree Inn
ALBERT A. LEROY, Prop.
LAKEHURST
OPENS OCTOBER 1st, 1910

SEA GIRT, N. J.
THE TREMONT
Every room the same full ocean view. Special rates for September. S. Hinkson-Woodward.

The Colonial SPRING LAKE, N. J.
Open till middle of Sept.
Misses VANDERHOOF & REYNOLDS.

NEW YORK CITY

HOTEL JUDSON 53 Washington Square, adjoining Judson Memorial Church. Rooms with and without bath. Rates $2.50 per day, including meals. Special rates for two weeks or more. Location very central. Convenient to all elevated and street car lines.
Mrs. JAMES KNOTT, Proprietor.

NEW YORK

Mount Meenahga House and Cottages
In the "Beautiful Shawangunks"
If you love the delightful, bracing air and the wondrous beauty of the changing foliage of September, MEENAHGA will appeal to you. A sheltered location with assured comfort of steam heat and open fires, walks and drives over an estate of 600 acres. Golf, tennis, bowling, billiards, etc. A unique company of cultured people loving all out-doors make up our household. U. E. TERWILLIGER & SON, Props., Ellenville, N. Y.

The Gleason Health Resort
Elmira, New York
ILLUSTRATED BOOKLET ON REQUEST
Dr. John C. Fisher, Resident Physician
E. B. Gleason, Propr.

"INTERPINES"
A quiet, restful HOME for the nervous invalid. Booklet on application. Drs. F. W. and F. W. SEWARD, Goshen, N. Y.

Hotels and Resorts

NORTH CAROLINA

FALL in TRYON, N. C.
Most delightful place to spend the Fall. Wonderful colorings. Finer than New England. **Oak Hall—Tourist Hotel,** E. BROWNLEE, Prop.

PENNSYLVANIA

Easton Sanitarium For treatment of the nervous or mentally ill. Superior location; skilled care. Visit here before selecting a place elsewhere, or call up Dr. Kinney for particulars. Phone 1661, Easton, Pa.

When visiting
Historic Philadelphia
Stop at "THE PARKSIDE,"
40th St. and Girard Ave., opp. Fairmount Park. First-class accommodations, including bath, $1 a day and up. Best to advance reservation. Write for circular.

Pocono Manor Monroe Co., Penna. Under management of Friends. 1,500 ft. above sea level, finest scenery in Pocono Mountains. For table, water, social advantages, the appointments are unsurpassed. Send for booklet. M. E. WISTAR, Mgr., Pocono Manor P. O., Pa.

Health Home for aged and chronic incurables who need intelligent and conscientious oversight. Hygienic food, best care. Pure air, healthful locality, quiet and restful. No insane or consumptives. Address 9,267, Outlook.

VERMONT

Echo Lake Hotel in **TYSON, VT.** the heart of the Green Mountains. Exceptional location; height 1,050 ft.; 3 lakes; boating, fishing, bathing, tennis; beautiful walks and drives; moderate rates; booklet. D. C. FENN, Proprietor.

Apartments

New York City. Furnished apartment. Four rooms, bath. Private. All imp'ts. Kitchen. Desirable location, near Columbia Univ. H. C. FAUGHT, 602 B'way. Tel. 7860 Spring.

The Toronto—Dupont Circle
WASHINGTON, D. C.
5 delightfully located **furnished** apartments for rent from October to June. Address Apartment 71.

Real Estate

Everyone now interested, or about to become interested in real estate, should read Realty Profits, a magazine of the pocket-book. Send for free specimen, or 25c. (postage) for year's subscription. Realty Profits, 1318 B'way, N.Y.

BUY an irrigated sugar cane farm in the fertile Lower Rio Grande Valley. Excels the world in the production of sugar cane. Fine climate, rich soil, pure water, cheap labor, quick returns. Crops certain, profits big. Ten acres or more, easy terms. Low in price now, rapidly increasing in value. Desirable place to live; fine schools and churches. We will plant land at once, also cultivate, harvest, and market crop on share basis. Make your crops pay for your land. For *free* booklet and long list of satisfied customers, address
FLETCHER & ROSSITER
806 Monadnock Bldg., Chicago, Ill.

FLORIDA

IN FLORIDA on Merritt Island, White Springs, Fla. For sale or lease (with privilege of purchase), **"The Wigwam,"** 10-room completely furnished cottage, facing Indian River, near Rockledge; hunting; fishing; all fruits included, for $550, November till May (October *free*). Particulars, photos, BLAIR, Merritt, Florida.

Hotel for Rent. St. Augustine, Florida. Unfurnished, 13 bedrooms; modern conveniences; well located. $500 per year, 3 or 5 year lease. W. W. DEWHURST.

MAINE

Maine Coast Real Estate
Summer Cottages, Islands, Bungalows, Farms.
H. P. WILLETT & CO., Waldoboro, Maine.

Real Estate

MAINE

FOR SALE
SUMMER HOME
on
PENOBSCOT BAY
FOX ISLANDS THOROUGHFARE
NORTH HAVEN, MAINE
MAIN house, eleven rooms and bath; also a guest house with two bedrooms, bath, and sleeping-out porch. Both houses are fully furnished. Two sail-boats, a launch, and a canoe also included if desired. For photographs and terms write
WALTER B. HOWE, Princeton, N. J.
New York Office, 56 Cedar Street

NEW HAMPSHIRE

N. H. HOMESTEAD
FOR SALE AT A BARGAIN
Fine old house on highest point of land on Turnpike Road between Portsmouth and Concord in Southern New Hampshire. House fully furnished and in running order, all ready to move into. Just the place for summer and fall months. One of the few remaining. Splendid condition, fine old fireplaces, one nearly 6 feet wide with old crane, old knocker on door, spindle staircase, fine paneling, 6 bedrooms, more easily made if desired; modern bathroom, running water; barns, growing gardens, pasture, fruit, etc. Plenty of wood, hay, etc. Good roads and beautiful scenery. High elevation, cool nights. Within 2 minutes of P. O. (two mails daily), doctor, church, schools, store, etc. Over 50 acres surrounding. Many attractive drives over good roads. Beautiful lakes in every direction from 2 to 6 miles distant. 9 miles to Epsom Station (2 stages daily); 15 miles from Epping or Rochester, daily stage; 18 from Dover; 20 from Concord. For terms, etc., address
Owner, Box 97, Northwood Ridge, N. H.

NEW YORK

FOR SALE
Lake Placid, Adirondacks
(West Shore, West Lake, opposite Whiteface Mountain)

PROPERTY comprises 25 acres with 1,600 feet shore frontage. Magnificent location. Beautifully wooded. Good trails.

2 CAMPS, one of which consists of several separate houses of substantial construction. Main house contains large living room, 6 master's bedrooms, 2 baths; has fine piazzas, 8 fireplaces, hot-air furnace for heating. Dining-house contains dining-room with two fireplaces; upstairs, four servants' rooms (two with fireplaces) and bath. Kitchen, butler's pantry. Laundry, ice-house with cooler, log tea-house, two boathouses. Boat equipment includes 21-foot launch, guide boats, canoes. Shop. Open camp.

SMALLER CAMP (rustic) contains combined living and dining room with fireplace, kitchen, cooler, 6 bedrooms, 2 baths, fine piazzas. Boathouse with room and balcony above. Boat equipment includes 20-foot launch, guide boats.

Both camps have every modern convenience, sanitary plumbing, are well furnished and unusually attractive in every respect. Camps and unimproved site would be sold separately to an approved purchaser, or all would be sold as a whole. For further particulars apply to
DURYEE & COMPANY
Real Estate, Saranac Lake, N. Y.

ADIRONDACK CAMPS
ST. REGIS LAKES
on THE SARANACS
LAKE PLACID
DURYEE & CO.
Real Estate, Saranac Lake, N. Y.

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Real Estate

NEW YORK

Adirondacks We have beautiful cottages and camps, furnished and unfurnished, anywhere in the Adirondacks, for sale or rent; all improvements. Write for booklet. Address WILLIAM F. ROBERTS, Real Estate Office, Saranac Lake, N. Y.

REAL ESTATE

Village and country property of all descriptions for sale on the Harlem Div. of the New York Central Railroad, in Dutchess and Columbia Counties, New York State.
MILES L. JENKS, Millerton, N. Y.

NEW JERSEY

Franklin F. Mayo & Co. solicit your **Real Estate** business in **Newark, N. J.**

For Rent from October 1st for the winter or longer, furnished house in South Orange, N. J. Twelve rooms; 8 bedrooms; 2 baths. Address 9,265, Outlook.

OREGON

HOOD RIVER APPLE LANDS
WYETH & ALLEN, Real Estate,
Hood River, Oregon

BOARD AND ROOMS

BOARD—Autumn and winter in well-appointed Virginia home. Large house and grounds in the suburbs. Forty miles from Washington. Private family. References exchanged. P. O. Box 206, Leesburg, Virginia.

SELECT boarding. 156 W. 81st St., New York.

GENTLEMEN will find comfortable rooms without board at 61 S. Oxford St., Brooklyn, N. Y., near subway.

A gentlewoman will take two or three little girls into her attractive suburban home. References. Address Woman's Exchange, New Haven, Connecticut.

WANTED—A feeble-minded young man to board. 4,329, Outlook.

73D St., 154 West. Choice single and double rooms with all conveniences; exceptional table. Table guests. References.

ROOM suitable for invalid, near Central Park. Graduate nurse in house. 4,340, Outlook.

BOOKS, MAGAZINES MANUSCRIPTS

WRITERS and authors, send your books to us for estimate. We print, bind, and arrange for marketing at lowest cost. Lino Type-Casting Co., 259 William St., New York.

BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES

I constantly build some Circular, Mailing Slip, or other bit of "doings" that costs my client $5 or $10 MORE than a close-at-home printer would have charged him for "just-as-good." When that client discovers that, to reward this modest extra outlay, that small extra cost document attracted enough new business to pay for itself ten (yes, often twenty) times over, he's ready to "husk his roll" of that 5 or 10 for me next time without a shudder. How about YOU? Francis I. Maule, 411 Sansom St., Philadelphia.

POSITION as school secretary or chaperon by lady with best references and some experience. Adaptable, versatile, energetic. 4,339, Outlook.

FOR THE HOME

DOMESTIC SCIENCE handbook free. Correspondence courses. American School Home Economics, Chicago.

WOMEN'S GOODS

HANDKERCHIEFS INDIVIDUALLY MONOGRAMED make ideal Christmas gifts. If you are interested, write at once for particulars. The Irish Linen Company, Importers of Hand Embroideries, Davenport, Iowa.

INCREASE your income by embroidery and lace making in your own homes. Enclose samples and stamps for reply. Address 4,311, Outlook.

HELP WANTED

Professional Situations

WANTED, an assistant resident woman physician in private school. Salary first three months fifty dollars and board, no washing; if satisfactory will pay seventy-five dollars per month balance of year; chance for good advancement second year. Address, with references, 4,269, Outlook.

WANTED—An orderly, under 35, for gentleman with creeping paralysis. References required. J. T. Craft, Hotel La Tourette, Bayonne, N. J.

Business Situations

INCREASE your earning power by learning to write advertisements. Facts sent free. Page-Davis Co., Dept. 32, Page Building, Chicago.

DODD, Mead & Co. desire a representative who will give full or part time in each city and county. Clergymen, lawyers, doctors, and other educated men are invited to communicate with us immediately. The reward is generous and the work pleasant. Address Dodd, Mead & Co., 30th St. and 4th Ave., New York.

WOMAN, cultured, tactful, to travel for important educational movement. Position pays upwards of $75 per month and expenses, in salary and commissions. Address The After School Club, 112 S. 13th St., Philadelphia, Pa.

Companions and Domestic Helpers

WANTED—An experienced, capable housekeeper for boys' boarding school near New York City. Salary $40 per month. Personal interview necessary. 4,255, Outlook.

WANTED—Young women to take nine months' course in training for the care of convalescents and chronic invalids. Apply Supt. Parker Mem. Home, New Brunswick, N. J.

WANTED—Refined young woman to assist in care of three children as member of family, living in private house New York City winters and in own home country summers. 4,338, Outlook.

Teachers and Governesses

TEACHERS wanted for public and private schools. Calls from every State. Register now for September. Send for Bulletin 21. Albany Teachers' Agency, Albany, N. Y.

TEACHERS—Register to-day to secure a teaching position. Vacancies still occurring. New Century Teachers' Bureau, 1420 Chestnut St., Philadelphia.

PACIFIC COAST? Salaries, expenses, certification, etc., explained. 20c. stamps. California Teachers' Agency. San Francisco. Los Angeles.

THE Hopkins' Educational Agency, 507 Fifth Avenue. Tutors, governesses, children's nurses, housekeepers, companions, secretaries, attendants, trained nurses. Supplies schools, families, institutions, hospitals.

GOVERNESS of experience wanted to teach and be with two young girls. Eight months in the country and four months in Boston. Please reply stating salary required and giving references. 4,282, Outlook.

FOR housekeepers, matrons, governesses, mothers' helpers, etc., address Miss Richards, Saunderstown, R. I.

WANTED—Mother's help, kindergarten and primary in small school. Salary $25. Address (Miss) S. E. Copeland, Saratoga Springs, N. Y.

NURSERY governess. German necessary, French and music desirable. Briggs, Lennox Bldg., Cleveland, Ohio.

SITUATIONS WANTED

Professional Situations

TRAINED nurse would board and care for semi-invalid, elderly or nervous person in her own beautiful, modern country home. Moderate charge. Address M., 4,275, Outlook.

TRAINED NURSE with STENOGRAPHY and TYPEWRITING wishes position as doctor's office nurse. References. Ande H., 4,227, Outlook.

WANTED—Superintendency of hospital or training school by a post-graduate Hospital Economics—formerly superintendent of small hospital. 4,308, Outlook.

WANTED, by woman of experience, position as superintendent of small hospital, or superintendent of nurses in medium sized hospital. References. Address 4,306. Outlook.

TRAINED nurse of experience wa ts supervisory position by October 1st; tut rcular work preferred. 4,291, Outlook.

SITUATIONS WANTED

Professional Situations

GRADUATE nurse desires a position as resident nurse in a college. 4,304, Outlook.

NURSE wishes employment September 1. Good references. Experience. 4,298, Outlook.

PROFESSOR, author, lecturer, eight years abroad, nine teaching, seeks engagement (specialty German; or English, French, librarianship). 4,318, Outlook.

REFINED woman desires position, matron, companion, secretarial work or teacher in an institution. Highest references. 4,319, Outlook.

Business or Professional

EXPERIENCED woman desires executive position. 4,155, Outlook.

REFINED young woman, Scotch, desires position as private secretary. Fifteen years' business experience. 4,285, Outlook.

A lady of education and experience, a physician's widow, wishes employment as pastor's assistant or parish helper. 4,299, Outlook.

AMERICAN literary man, 35, wants a job; is experienced and has good references. Not afraid of hard work. 4,309, Outlook.

LADY of refinement, executive ability, proficient stenographer, desires position. References. 4,293, Outlook.

A gentleman of education and experience would like a position as companion and secretary to invalid gentleman. Willing to travel. Address 4,294, Outlook.

WANTED—Position by experienced librarian, indexer, and business woman. References. H. E., 705 Lafayette Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.

STENOGRAPHER desires position in New York or Brooklyn. 4,326, Outlook.

POSITION by successful manager of summer hotel. Good caterer, buyer, understanding rentals, office work, and all details of large household. Competent manager. 4,321, Outlook.

INTELLIGENT young lady, knowledge of business, desires position as secretary. Box 33, Glenburn, Pa.

YOUNG woman of experience in managing private business affairs, and in convalescent nursing, desires position as private secretary or companion. 4,333, Outlook.

Companions and Domestic Helpers

YOUNG KENTUCKY GENTLEWOMAN, intelligent, highest educational qualifications, adaptable, good reader, desires position secretary, companion. References exchanged. 4,274, Outlook.

WELL-educated young woman, alone, desiring some time for study, would like position in private family. Congenial home, small salary. References. 4,278, Outlook.

BRADFORD graduate, twenty-four, experienced traveler, desires position as companion or chaperon. 4,120, Outlook.

CULTURED and genial New Haven lady, middle-aged, without family, seeks position with refined lady as useful companion or secretary or both. City or country. Highest references. 4,310, Outlook.

YOUNG woman, Oberlin graduate, desires position as companion to gentlewoman or young lady. Excellent references. 4,240, Outlook.

YOUNG gentlewoman desires companion's position. Experienced traveler, secretary, nurse. References. 4,312, Outlook.

COMPANION—Lady (34), Smith College. Amiable, refined. Gladly travel. Fine needlework. 4,315, Outlook.

EDUCATED Englishwoman desires responsible post as companion, housekeeper, or secretary. Speaks French and German. Musical. 4,313, Outlook.

REFINED young Pennsylvania woman wants position useful companion to lady. References exchanged. 4,307, Outlook.

REFINED, educated youug woman, graduate nurse, desires position as companion or governess. Will travel. Experienced in care of both children and adults. Excellent references. 4,296, Outlook.

PRACTICAL, efficient young woman as companion, social secretary, or governess, for part of each day or week, in Boston or vicinity. Box 17, Needham, Mass.

YOUNG woman understanding care of children and management of servants desires position New York or vicinity. 4,301, Outlook.

WANTED—Position by graduate nurse as companion. 4,316, Outlook.

(For other Want announcements see second page following.)

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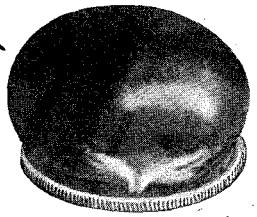

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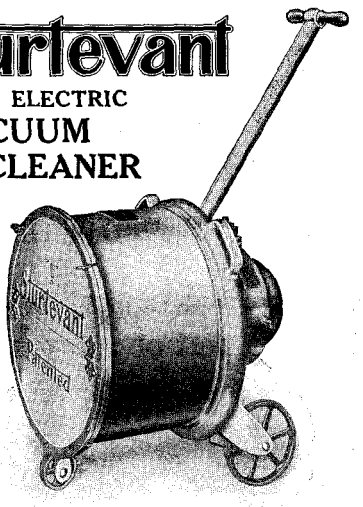

In considering vacuum cleaners, remember that B. F. Sturtevant Company has designed, built and installed more air suction apparatus than all other concerns in the world, and that the Sturtevant cleaner is built in the light of that experience.

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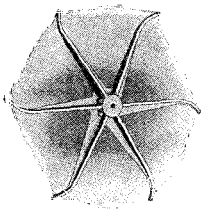

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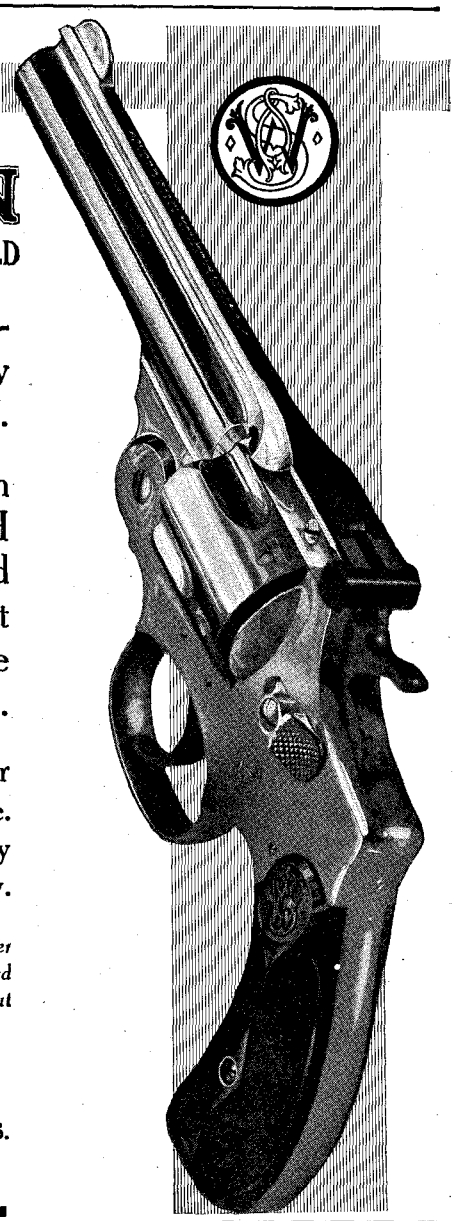

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LADY of education and adaptable disposition would like position as companion to young girl. Best references. 4,303, Outlook.

REFINED, self-reliant woman of agreeable personality desires to chaperon or take charge of young lady. Would travel or keep house. Fond of country. Highest references. Capable. 4,322, Outlook.

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YOUNG lady, companion or companion and household assistant, prefers position in Middle West. Best references. 4,320, Outlook.

POSITION wanted — Assistant matron. New York City references. Nurse, Lock Box 687, Kansas City, Mo.

EDUCATED lady wishes to assist in a household. Knowledge of several languages. 4,337, Outlook.

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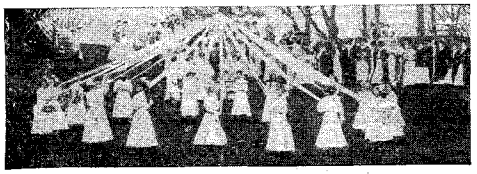

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